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Golden-Ball in *St. Paul's Church-yard*,

(Beautifully Printed on a Medium Paper, with a
larger Letter than any Dictionary hitherto pub-
lished, for the Use of Schools, Price Twelve
Shillings in Octavo)

A New Abridgement of *Anfwerib's* Dictionary
of the *Latin* Tongue, (from the Folio Edi-
tion) in which certain Articles, in the Course of
this excellent Book, of less Importance to Youth
are retrenched, without injuring the Body of the
Work, or omitting any thing, contained in the
former Editions, material to those for whose Ser-
vice this is principally intended.

As to the *Explanations*; the various Senses and idio-
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with the ancient and modern Names of the feve-
ral *Clases*, &c. mentioned in the *Clas-*
sical Authors, are carefully observed, and the
most proper Examples for each Sense of a Word dis-
tinctly set forth. And, in order to render it still
more useful, Care has been taken to compare
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Dictionary of the *English* Language, and to
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Works in the *English* Language, and to
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Castel de Saint Pierre (C. I.)

POLITICAL ANNALS

By the late CELEBRATED

Monfieur *Charles Irenée Castel*,

Abbot of St. PIERRE,

And Member of the *French* ACADEMY.

VOL. I.

Translated from the last correct and enlarged
Edition of the *French*.



LONDON:

Printed for H. WOODGATE, at the *Golden-Ball*
in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

Joseph Charles Castel de Saint Pierre

POLITICAL ANNALS

By the REV. J. G. GILBERT

Monkish Character of the French Capital

Abbot of St. Pierre

And Member of the French Academy

VOL. I.

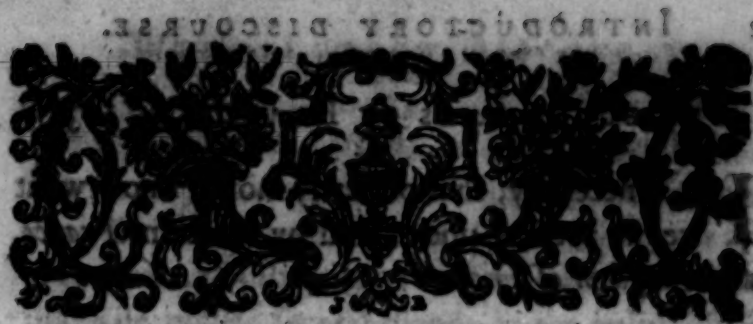
Translated from the French of the late



LONDON:

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in St. Paul's Church-yard

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INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

BEFORE that I relate the principal events, that, in my time, have in a greater or less degree contributed to the good or evil fortune of my country, I think it necessary, not only to premise a short description of the state of France, such as it now is in 1735, but also to say something concerning our manners, principal establishments, and most material regulations: so that, in future ages, those who read this work may the better observe in the space between us what progress reason may have made in our nation towards happiness. It is true, the many deficiencies in the chief regulations and principal establishments of different parts of our government, may be seen in my printed works, as well as the limits to which reason is by our laws restricted: But I shall not however omit to set down some reflections that have not been made elsewhere.

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THE BOUNDARIES OF FRANCE IN 1735.

It is necessary, that posterity should know what we at present understand by the term *France*, and *Kingdom of France*.

Our kingdom has for boundaries on the north; Dunkirk, Lille, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Philippe-Ville, Charlemont, Rocroi, Sedan, Mont-medi, Longwy, Theonville, Sar-Louis.

To the westward we are bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, for the islands that are on our coast are a part of France, excepting the isles of Jersey, Guernsey and Origni, ((Alderney)) upon the coast of Normandy, which remain still in the possession of the English.

To the eastward we are limited by the Rhine, and the possession of Landau, Strasbourg, New-Brisach, Belfort, Dole, Nuremberg, Bausg-en-Burg, the Pays de Gex, Port Beau-voisin, Fort de la Cluse, Geneva, Bellegarde, Mont-Dauphin, Briançon, Glanville, Yverdon, and Annecy.

To the southward we are bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, and the Kingdoms of Savoy, Piedmont, Calabre, Calabria, Sicily, Naples, Princes Carol, Massimiliano, St. John, Savoy, St. Jean-de-pied-Mont, St. Jean-de-Luz, which persons from the Kingdom of Spain would claim as their own.

Besides

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Besides the old continent of France, we have a large and prodigious tract of country on the great river St. Laurence in Canada, from whence we import great numbers of furs and other skins; we likewise possess several islands in the gulph of St. Laurence, as St. John and Miscou, of which my brother the Count de St. Pierre had formerly a grant, but which the king has since resumed; and Isle Royal, or Cape Breton, towards the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. We have also on the same continent of North America, a great extent of country at the mouth of the vast river Mississippi, named Louisiana, from thirty-two degrees north latitude, the whole length of the river northwards. Besides this we have several islands in America, from the sixth degree, that is, from Cayenne, which is on the Terra Firma, to the twentieth degree, such as Martinico, Guadaloupe, Grenada, part of St. Domingo, and St. Christopher, which furnish us with tobacco, sugar, cacao and coffee, and might be made to produce every thing that grows in the East Indies, or other very warm countries. We have also some settlements on the coast of Africa, where we carry on a trade for gold-dust and slaves, whom we employ in our sugar plantations in America.

The strength of a state does not consist in the extent of its territories, but in the number of its inhabitants, and how much they are more compact,

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fact, more laborious, better trained to arms, more industrious in the arts, and more usefully employed than those of other nations.

It may even be said, that supposing an equal number of inhabitants, a state that has three-fourths less territories shall be three times more strong and more powerful, than another whose inhabitants are dispersed over a territory of three times the dimensions. The reason is,

First, Because the attack and defence are easier in a small territory.

Secondly, Because its commerce is greater and more easily carried on.

Thirdly, Because the arts are more easily brought to perfection, as the discoveries made in them are more easily communicated.

Indeed, we are always to suppose a territory sufficient for the support of its inhabitants; now, on the continent of France, without reckoning America, we possess upwards of nine times as much land as is necessary for the subsistence of the people of France.

We reckon about twenty millions of inhabitants, or about four millions of heads of families, of both sexes married and not married: now our people cannot

cannot be the one half so usefully employed as those in England and Holland, by reason of the weakness of our maritime commerce in comparison of theirs; and this is the sort of aggrandisement of a state, which every sovereign may make without injuring any of his neighbours.

There are about forty thousand curates, and sixty thousand other priests of different orders, a hundred thousand monks, and as many nuns: now here are about half too many of the former, and three-fourths of the latter. Petavius, in his *Theological Dogmas*, quotes the nineteenth canon of the ancient council of Agde, by which it is forbidden to give the veil to any woman under forty years of age: *Sanctimoniales, quantum libet vita earum & mores probati sint, ante annum etatis sue quadragesimum non valentur*. This author furthermore cites the same council in his remarks on St. Epiphanius, p. 343. How much is it to be wished, that this wise decree was observed in our days?

The clergy of France are become much more subject to the court, since the Concordat settled between pope Leo X. and Francis I. at Mar- seilles in the beginning of the sixteenth century: and this encreased subjection to the supreme authority was greatly wanting in France, for the better security and preservation of the public tranquillity. By virtue of this Concordat the king began to exercise the privilege of nominating to bi-

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shoprics and abbies in commendam: and I think it is to be wished, that the nomination to bishoprics was not for life, but only for ten years, with reserve to renew, in case that, by the judgment of the thirty peers, no one should be found more worthy of filling the see than the present possessor. The bishop, if deposed, should be allowed only the one half of the revenues of his see for life: a regulation of this kind would keep up and encrease a desire of labouring for the public good, whereas the certainty of possessing a see for life oftentimes occasions a remissness in the discharge of its functions, and the duties the possessor owes the public.

Since this Concordat, the court has without difficulty accustomed the clergy to pay their tenths; whereas before, the king was obliged to have recourse to Rome for permission to levy this tax upon them: a state of great dependence, and to which many kingdoms are still subject.

So long as the principal divines and bishops of the nation shall not believe the pope infallible, it will be impossible for him to subject us to his decrees against our wills; we shall always have a liberty of examining them, and of leaving his constitutions unexecuted, and a way open to an appeal to a future general council: but the best method, will be to leave unexecuted such as we do not approve of.

And

And here we have for ramparts the ancient liberties of the Gallican church, and the four propositions of the clergy in 1682, supported by all the parliaments of the kingdom ; nor need we fear that the council can ever be general without the French bishops, nor that the king will permit his bishops to assist at it, if he foresees any unjust excommunication of his officers or prelates ; nor that a council can be infallible that is not general.

As to the monasties of both sexes, it is said, that the chancellor del'Hospital was of opinion that there were not too many in France, provided they were all more usefully employed than they are for the benefit of Christian society.

He was for having them all reduced to four orders, and four different habits, for to keep up a spirit of emulation amongst them, in surpassing each other in their labours for the general good of the faithful.

That the generals of these four orders should always reside in France : his reason for it was, that those orders who have generals residing in a foreign court, are always too much dependent upon that court, and may by means of their convents disturb the public peace, if they happen to be discontented with the government. These four orders, said he, should have the care :

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First, Of all the poor who are sick or invalids, either in hospitals, or out of hospitals.

Secondly, They should superintend likewise the education of children and the lesser schools, and consequently have the direction of the seminaries.

Now it is certain, that if all our monastics of both sexes were thus usefully employed in works of charity, we might justly say, with the chancellor, that there are not too many of them in France.

The chancellor likewise observed, that he was surprized that our kings, whose interest it so much is to lessen the power that the court of Rome is daily endeavouring to usurp over our kingdom, should not have abolished the pernicious custom of allowing such subjects of France, who are possessed of considerable benefices in the kingdom, to accept of the cardinal's hat: he expresses still a greater surprize, that the kings themselves should sometimes solicit that dignity for one of their subjects, whom they chuse to make prime minister; as if they could not, by a simple declaration of their will, give to any person acting as prime minister, a rank superior to that which is at present allowed in France to cardinals.

He added, that to leave the French the liberty of soliciting this foreign dignity, was a kind of inducement

ducement to the ministers, and the most powerful families in the kingdom, who will always be desirous of seeing their sons made cardinals, to sacrifice the interests of the state to that of the court of Rome. And that the archbishops and bishops, who have most credit with the clergy, in order to obtain this dignity, would forget what they owed their country, and endeavour to establish the exorbitant pretensions of the popes, particularly that of infallibility: and indeed herein I think the chancellor is unanswerable.

As to Devotion the late duke de Montausier, who was the dauphin's governor, thought that at present it turned too much on ceremony and a multiplicity of oral prayers, after the manner of the ignorant Pharisees; and that it was to be wished, that it was more directed to the practice of godliness and beneficence, as the most acceptable to God.

To assist the king in the government of the church of France, he was for having an episcopal council established; the members to be chosen by the king, but by the method of scrutiny between thirty peers; and that the dispensations which we now purchase from Rome, should be expedited by this council, at one half of the expence that they cost at Rome: and that from the money saved upon the usual fees for dispensations and briefs, a certain sum should be set apart monthly for the paying

TO INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

paying the salaries of the members of the council, and the wages of the several officers; the over-plus to go to the hospital and Hôtel Dieu of the capital.

There are about fifty thousand noble families in France; that is to say, near one hundredth part of its inhabitants. These fifty thousand families, at five persons in a family, make two hundred and fifty thousand souls.

The gentry in France have for a long time been always destined to the church, or the army, in the latter of which they fill all the posts, and maintain themselves by their own appointments; and as some of them, though a very few, arrive at honorary and profitable rewards, especially to the dignity of Marshal of France, and that of hereditary Duke and Peer, these rewards encourage a great number of good subjects to spend their whole lives in the profession of arms, who, but for these hopes, would in a few years grow tired of the service: but the most disagreeable circumstance in it is, that favour has commonly a greater share in these promotions than real merit; and this for want of the method by scrutiny.

The king frequently confers the order of the Cordon bleu, (or blue ribband) or the title of knight of the Holy Ghost on lieutenant-generals: now the method of honouring with this title those
who

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who have particularly distinguished themselves would be of great advantage to the service, was the reward to be conferred by scrutiny between thirty peers, on such person or persons as should appear to them to have the most national merit.

There is amongst us a custom very prejudicial to the state, which is, that with the Dukes and Peers, the title of duke is hereditary: now it is evident, that to give greater marks of distinction to a man who is frequently without any talents, virtue or real merit, than are given to a general or commander in chief of the greatest merit, is not only acting ridiculously, but is even committing a great fault against good government: I hope this false policy will not last much longer, as we now grow stronger in reason.

The duke de Mortemar said, that he was ashamed to see himself treated on certain occasions with greater distinction than his generals; and maintained, that the titles of distinction among the nobility, such as baron, count, marquis, duke, ought never be other than personal, and not hereditary; that it was lavishing the public treasure to make these precious rewards descend from father to son, till they fell at length perhaps upon such as were unworthy of all honour and distinction.

He added, that a state had as much need for honourable distinctions, to confer on rich persons
of

of merit, as of pensions to distribute amongst well deserving poor officers; accordingly he disapproved of the custom in Spain, of continuing to idle and worthless descendants the pensions that had been conferred on their fathers, as a reward for their good services; while a number of officers, who were actually in the service, and had distinguished themselves, were left unprovided for, because the public wealth was exhausted by these hereditary pensions.

A public treasury of honours, and marks of distinction, becomes a necessary fund in a state which abounds with a number of rich particulars; and still more so, where the public treasury of finances is exhausted, but then choice should be observed in the distribution of them; and except that of gentleman, no title among the noblesse should be hereditary, but only personal.

It is advanced, that the long robe can more easily make its way to nobility, with employments and money than the soldier, the merchant, or the magistrate, although each of these may have rendered the most important services to their country; or even than those employments, that have matured arts the most useful to a state. A *maréchal de camp*, or a lieutenant-general, though he has been above forty years in the service, must at last obtain letters of nobility, because the profession of arms does not enoble his children; whereas
it

it is sufficient to die the king's secretary, or a counsellor of parliament, without possessing any one single talent of public use, to make the children noble. I hope that his present majesty Louis XV. under whose reign I revise these Memoirs, will remedy this abuse, and revoke these privileges, by which a family is enobled, without the state's having reaped any advantage from it, adequate to such a distinction.

It is ridiculous that there should be no other public mark of distinction for the Noblesse than a sword, which is not only troublesome to wear, but is the occasion of almost daily murders, and is worn likewise by valets de chambre, and almost all sorts of people. What reason is there for allowing swords to any but travellers? These are certainly the remains of our civil wars, and remains full as ridiculous, and of more prejudice to the state, than the boots and spurs that used to be worn by every one at Paris, even at a visit; and which were not laid aside till about the time of my birth in 1658, five years after the ceasing of the civil war.

In every town there are judges appointed by authority to take cognizance of the differences that arise between the subjects. The inferior judges have a power of passing sentence, but the person who is cast has a right of appealing to a superior court of judicature, called the parliament or high court. This parliament determines the right of jurisdiction

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jurisdiction between any two inferior judges within its district : but the right of jurisdiction between two parliaments can be only tried before the council, where the chancellor presides, the counsellors of state are assistant, and the masters of requests make the reports. This council has the power of annulling such sentences as the parliaments may have given contrary to law.

Now it would be more convenient for the parties, that there was in every parliament, as in Flanders, a court of appeals, consisting of any number of deputies from each of the other courts, to controul in certain cases such decrees as were not thought satisfactory.

The inferior courts should be invested with authority to determine finally in such causes, where the capital did not exceed the value of thirty marks of fine silver, or fifteen hundred livres of our present money. This would determine upon the spot above three-fourths of those causes which are now carried before the parliaments; and be of great advantage to the state, which is little concerned whether Peter has more than Paul, but is greatly interested in their neglecting their trades, manufactures and labours; but indeed, in this case there would be a necessity for at least twelve judges, and that these judges should be chosen from among thirty peers, all of them noble.

All trade is an exchange. The dealer in linnen both buys and sells; but as seller he exchanges his linnen for the buyer's money, and as buyer he exchanges his money for the manufacturer's cloth; every kind of commerce in like manner becomes an exchange.

If the two exchanging parties did not think they should gain something by their exchange, there would be no exchange carried on. I am sensible, that in some cases there may be only one of the parties a gainer, but then he gains what the other loses; so that the state loses nothing, when the trade is carried on between subject and subject: sometimes the gainer gains more than the other loses, because he makes more by the thing he has taken in exchange; but it most commonly happens, that both parties have either an equal or an unequal gain by the exchange; then the profit is reciprocal, and if they are every day, every week, or every year gaining something by their exchange, they by this means make an annual increase of their gain; and this mutual gain will be so much the greater, as the exchange is more considerable and more briskly circulated.

If one person has a greater stock of wine than he can consume, he has so much uselefs wine; if another has more wood than he can consume, he has so much uselefs wood. Now by exchanging his
uselefs

useless wood for his neighbour's useless wine, both parties gain by the exchange, by making valuable what was before useless. An inhabitant of Marseilles has a piece of ground near Valogne, of the yearly value of one thousand livres : an inhabitant of Valogne has another piece of ground near Marseilles of the like value : these two make an exchange of their lands, and both are gainers by this exchange.

From hence we may infer, that the more things there are in a state to facilitate these mutual exchanges, or remove the obstacles to them, the more frequent will they be, and the more considerable will be the addition to the income arising to the subject from such exchange or commerce.

Among the many great obstacles to our domestic commerce, we may reckon the badness of the roads in winter, for want of their being properly paved; the great deficiency of canals and navigable rivers, for the more easy transporting merchandize of great bulk and weight; the want of bridges in several places; and the little care taken to secure the roads against robbers; the scarcity of inns; the number of custom-houses in the inner parts of the kingdom; the exorbitant subsidies charged on all kinds of drinks, and the various and numberless tolls on the rivers and bridges. But it must be owned, that these things, which so nearly regard the inland commerce of the kingdom, are still greatly neglected in France. Our

Our maritime commerce is likewise very weak; in comparison with that of England and Holland; one of the chief reasons alledged for it is, that in England, a rich and reputable merchant is frequently honoured by the king with the order of knighthood, and is sometimes chosen a member of the house of commons. Nothing is of more importance to a prince, than to have rich subjects, and a rich kingdom; because, with these riches he may easily purchase men upon occasion from other states that are poor; and the soldiers and officers, thus purchased from our poorer neighbours, marry amongst us, and by degrees become French: by this means our neighbours are weakened, and we are strengthened; for their men are of more value to us than our money. The Dutch, who have adopted this politic, have found their advantage in it, in a surprizing manner. Let us but make commerce flourish, and we shall have as many troops as we please; but let us suffer it to dwindle away, and we shall not only have fewer soldiers, but less money to subsist them withal.

The productions of the earth make the principal part of the basis of the commerce of the first branch; but the commodities manufactured by the artisan, as woollen and linnen cloths, stockings, hats, leather, &c. make a considerable article in our commerce of the second branch: and it may be said, that the labourer has as much occasion

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for the merchant and the artificer, as the merchant and artificer has for the labourer, to take their commodities and merchandise off their hands.

The imposition of the yearly *Taille*, the levying of which upon the families is left to the discretion of a set of partial and unjust collectors; and that on the corporations and parishes to the intendants, who have not as yet been able to gain a thorough knowledge of the several yearly revenues that are properly taxable in each parish; is the occasion of daily thinning the country-places of their inhabitants, and putting a check to agriculture, by ruining every year a great number of taxable families; and that, because the richer sort take refuge in towns and cities, fearful of being quickly ruined, if they were to remain in the country.

Monsieur Colbert, who from his youth, had been brought up in the counting-house of the Mascari, rich merchants of Lyons, there first learned those principles of commerce, that more immediately regard manufactures; and it is devoutly to be wished, that he had likewise been for two or three years clerk to some rich trader at St. Malo; he would then have taken a much better method in forming his maritime companies, in which he made two essential mistakes, that we have not as yet been able to repair.

First;

First, He placed the direction of these companies at Paris, instead of placing it at the port where the goods were to be shipped and unshipped.

Secondly, This direction was composed of directors who were not maritime traders.

But we have added yet another material fault to these, in our India company; which is, that our directors and sub-directors have not near the interest in the success of our company, that the English and Dutch directors have in the success of theirs.

In 1658, we were at war with Spain, but then we had no other war upon our hands. We had finished that with the Emperor, ten years before, by the treaty of Munster; and our civil wars ceased about 1653. Therefore, it is not to be wondered that we had the superiority, as well in the Spanish Netherlands, as in the Pyrenees, and in Italy: but our advantages were neither rapid nor great; they were not such as could give any umbrage to our neighbours, or oblige them to declare for Spain, to prevent the king of France from becoming too formidable a neighbour.

It would have been evidently against the interest of our neighbours, to have seen France grow too powerful in acquisitions, within a very short

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time; but it was as clearly their interest to see it impoverishing itself, and running in debt, by an expensive and long war. This very consideration, that our neighbours would not suffer a too great or sudden aggrandisement of our state ought to have deterred the council from encreasing the expences of the war. The prime minister thought, but without foundation, that his own private interest required him to continue the war, though against the interest of the nation; he did not then see sufficiently clear how he might render himself necessary both to the king and the state, by setting on foot, in the interior parts of the kingdom, several establishments, that would be of the greatest advantage to the nation; to whom war is ruinous, and makes her hated by her neighbours. I have elsewhere explained four or five of the principal establishments that would be thus advantageous.

Military discipline was greatly improved amongst us, since the duke of Saxe-Wiemar, and marshal Gassion commanded our troops; for they had learned their profession under the famous Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, our ally, who was killed, about the year 1652, at the battle of Lutzen, just as he was on the point of entering the emperor's dominions.

Cardinal Mazarin, who was trained up wholly in the negotiations and intrigues of a court, had
never

never any conception of the great advantages accruing to a state, from an extensive trade by sea, and a numerous and flourishing navy; nor of the means of acquiring them. So that, with the finest harbours in the world, and with subjects the most brave and the most easily disciplined, we could hardly, in the year 1653, send ten ships of fifty guns to sea; when the English and the Dutch were, each of them separately, able to send out ten times as many, and of much larger rates.

Our marine was afterwards carried to a very high pitch, while Seignelai, Colbert's son had the direction of it. In 1688, the king could equip an hundred sail, but then we were in want of sailors; the edict of 1685, that drove the Calvinists out of the kingdom, robbed us of a great number, and in time of peace we carried on a very inconsiderable trade by sea: but nothing is so necessary to train up a number of good sailors, as an extensive maritime commerce; accordingly our navy has greatly fallen off since; and will not be able to raise itself but by slow degrees, to that rank it had with that of the English; who have given us an example, by the great success that has attended the different branches of trade they are engaged in by sea, that commerce is the source of immense riches to a state.

None of our ministers have as yet comprehended of how great importance, the education of

youth would be to the welfare of the state, if they were properly improved in certain points of knowledge of most use to society; particularly in the practice of goodness and beneficence, which are without comparison of greater importance to the good of the children, and their families, than a knowledge of Latin.

Cardinal de Richelieu founded a college, that still bears the name of Du-pleffis, which is that of his own family. He was at a prodigious expence in restoring the college for Theology, erected by Peter de Sorbonne, where young ecclesiastics are daily taught to dispute with acrimony and insolence, on questions in theology merely speculative, instead of disputing calmly and mildly who should best put in practice the doctrine of righteousness and good works, which are the chief ends of religion, and the most effectual means of forming an happy society, and attaining a future life of joy and felicity. Now to allow of disputes in theology, and to erect schools purposely for them, is permitting a set of men to labour in confounding weak minds, raising up errors, and giving birth to heresies, schisms and parties in a state, which is very opposite to sound policy, that always aims at maintaining peace and concord, and the practice of virtue.

On the contrary, these schools for theology should have been suffered to drop off by degrees,
till

till they had become quite extinct, in order to put an end to disputes upon opinions of no use, and to encourage those only that tend to the furtherance of virtue, and to raise an emulation in endeavouring after the best means to make the people more just and beneficent. The government would, at once, have been more strengthened thereby, and religion rendered more respectable, more uniform, and more disposed to go hand in hand with a government, that recommended to its subjects, above all things, the practice of holiness and Christian charity.

Cardinal Mazarin, to perpetuate his name in Paris, founded a college there in 1658. It was proposed to him, to restore the college of Navarre, where there were schools for theology; but he was careful how he sought occasions of giving any additional lustre to such kinds of schools, that are so destructive to the public tranquillity: he had but too deeply experienced, in the disputes between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, how much it imported the public peace, to keep the people from employing their minds in disputes of mere speculation, instead of directing them to the practice of virtue. But, otherwise, he took very little thought about the improvement, or finishing of education, either with regard to the manners, or that knowledge which might be most useful to the state. He had not so much as the least idea of it, and contented himself with leaving his college upon

the same poor plan with that of others. For example, we have ten times more occasion in the course of life, for the operations of arithmetic and practical geometry, in levelling or dividing different parts of the earth; in surveying, and in making of plans; and for geography, and an acquaintance with the history of eminent persons; than for the trivial advantages of making Greek and Latin verses, or forming figures in rhetoric, &c. They teach us, what is of little or no use, and leave us in ignorance of what is the most important for us to know. We want citizens, by long practice accustomed to be just, meek, humble, patient, civilized and decent; who know how to forgive injuries, and have a taste for true glory, and seek after it; who despise all vain distinctions and low pride, and had rather be great in talents and virtues, than in the gifts of fortune. We want citizens laborious and assiduous; and yet, generally speaking, our colleges turn out such only as are accustomed to be impatient, rude and indecent, both in their words and actions; who think of nothing, but how to accuse, or to be revenged upon others; who are always running after the frivolous distinction of fine cloaths and fine equipages; who set more value by riches than shining talents, or eminent virtues, and pride themselves in being distinguished for their nothingness, and a dexterity at turning into ridicule every one who is desirous of attaining the summit of national merit.

The

The French academy was erected by cardinal Richelieu, by letters patent in 1637; but in truth, the design of this establishment is very poor for one of the greatest geniusses of his time, in comparison to what he might have done for the public good, by means of a body composed of men the most distinguished for their parts and understanding; but he wanted both leisure and lights sufficient to make this the most useful society to the state. It has been employed, for near these hundred years, in declaring, that such and such words or phrases, are at present, in or out of use: but use and custom is always changing, consequently what is bad, at present, may be good fifty years hence. Is this now, seriously speaking, a design worthy so great a politician? The design would, indeed, have been suitable to his character, had he obliged this academy of good writers to produce every year panegyrics on the most illustrious of their country-men, on new discoveries, useful inventions, or on the advantages accruing from such regulations and establishments made in their time, as were worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Then, every member of this academy might have said with Pliny the younger: "If the private rank we hold, will not permit us to do things worthy of being written, we will at least, endeavour to write such things as may be worthy of being read."

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This makes me think, that the two academies we now have; the one for the French tongue, and the other of Belles Lettres and inscriptions, might be incorporated into one, and only divided into different offices, or classes.

Well-planned academies, and conferences properly adjusted, are undoubtedly the best means of bringing to maturity the just habits, and the lights that have been imbibed from a good education, and greatly further the perfection of laws, regulations, establishments, and useful discoveries in a state; in a word, of every work that is the most valuable to human reason.

England is, at present, governed by George II. of the house of Brunswic. James III. known by the name of the Pretender, resides at Rome, at the expence of the Pope. The king his father was driven from England, in 1688, for having, at the solicitation of his queen, a woman of a very narrow genius, endeavoured to establish in his kingdom the pope's authority, which the English dread as unreasonable and tyrannical; chiefly on account of the pope's setting himself up for infallible, and equal in authority to the general councils; and pretending to have a right of absolving the subjects from their obedience, and oath of allegiance to their sovereign. The principal thing that king George and his descendants have

have to fear, is, that the posterity of the Pretender should one day make profession of the religion of the church of England. In that case, the establishment of the diet of Europe, if it should ever be formed, would be the only certain and constant security against any pretensions of that kind.

The Dutch have nothing so much at heart as encreasing their trade; consequently will the more carefully avoid entering into a war, as they are not so susceptible of anger as crowned heads; and therefore more inclinable to listen to what makes the most for their interest.

France is somewhat more powerful than the Emperor alone; but the interest of the French, and the inclination of their king, is, to restore public credit, and establish peace in Europe. This is, likewise, the way of thinking of Cardinal de Fleuri, who exercises the authority and functions of prime minister, without taking the title.

The Emperor has no male-children, and intends to bequeath the whole of his dominions to his eldest daughter, whom he destines for the duke of Lorraine, his cousin-german's son. He has dominions in Italy, in Flanders, and in Hungary, and is surrounded with powerful neighbours; so that it will be greatly his interest to form a general and perpetual league; that is, the diet of Europe,

Europe, which will be as a guarantee for the execution of the disposition he shall make by will.

Spain is, likewise, greatly interested, on one side, to secure to itself America, and to assure Don Carlos in the peaceable possession of his dominions. Now the surest means of doing this, is, to conclude a general defensive league with all the powers in Europe; and, consequently, to frame and firmly secure the establishment of the diet of Europe, by signing the five fundamental articles here following.

FUNDAMENTAL ARTICLES OF THE DIET OF EUROPE.

I.

THAT the several powers of Europe, who shall sign the following articles, shall, henceforward engage in a general and perpetual alliance:

First, To compose the European body of arbitration.

Secondly, To procure a full and perpetual security against all wars, civil and foreign.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, To procure a full and perpetual security for the preservation of their own person, and that of their descendants, on the throne.

Fourthly, To procure a full and perpetual security for the preservation of their dominions and rights, in the condition in which they at present, hold them, agreeable to the latest treaties.

Fifthly, To make a considerable diminution in their great military expences, that they may employ themselves more usefully in augmenting the riches and happiness of their subjects.

Sixthly, To establish all possible freedom of trade.

Seventhly, To have a full and lasting security for the absolute and perpetual execution of the promises made to each other, as well those that are past, as those that are to come.

Eighthly, To have full security, that all differences, present and future, shall be determined without having recourse to war.

II.

The members of the European body, in order to terminate between themselves all differences, present and future, have renounced, and do hereby

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by renounce for themselves, and their successors, the fatal and ruinous method of arms; and do agree to make use only of that of conciliation in the diet of Europe, by the mediation of plenipotentiaries, chosen from the members of the European body; and that, in case, this mediation should not prove effectual, they agree to abide by the judgment of the other members represented in the diet by their plenipotentiaries, to the plurality of voices in a provisional decree, and to the three-fourths of the voices in final judgment, which is not to be given till five years after the provisional decree.

III.

The nineteen chief powers of Europe shall be invited to sign these five fundamental articles for the forming of the European body; to wit,

First, The Emperor;

Secondly, The king of France;

Thirdly, The king of Spain;

Fourthly, The king of Portugal;

Fifthly, The king of England, elector of Hanover;

Sixthly, The republic of Holland;

Seventhly, The king of Denmark;

Eighthly,

Eighthly, The king of Sweden ;

Ninthly, The king of Poland, elector of Saxony ;

Tenthly, The Czarina ;

Eleventhly, The king of Naples ;

Twelfthly, The king of Prussia ;

Thirteenthly, The elector of Bavaria ;

Fourteenthly, The Elector Palatine ;

Fifteenthly, The Swiss Cantons, and their associates ;

Sixteenthly, The Ecclesiastical Electors, and free cities of the Empire ;

Seventeenthly, The republic of Venice ;

Eighteenthly, The Pope, Malta, Modena, and Geneva. And

Nineteenthly, The king of Sardinia.

Each of these are to have a voice, and to contribute according to their respective revenues and charges, to the common expences, for the subsistence of the troops of the general alliance, kept on the frontiers ; and this contribution shall be regulated, at the congress by the plurality of the voices of the allies, in a provisional decree, and five years afterwards by three-fourths of the voices for final determination.

IV.

If any one of the associates, or other sovereign powers, shall refuse to abide by the arbitration of the diet, and to execute the decrees of the grand alliance; if he makes any preparations for war, or shall endeavour to set on foot any negotiations tending to disunite the allies; the grand alliance will regard him as a disturber of the peace of Europe, and act offensively against him, until such time as he shall accept of the arbitration, execute the decree, and give security for repairing the injury he has caused, and reimbursing the allies for the expence of the war.

V.

It is agreed, by the members of the European body, that their plenipotentiaries shall, by the majority of voices, in a provisional decree, and after the term of five years, by three-fourths of the voices in final determination, regulate in the perpetual diet of Europe, all such articles as they shall esteem of importance towards procuring a more firm union and solidity to the body politic of Europe; as likewise an additional security for each of its members against all future events; and also all such other advantages as are likely to result from this perpetual union. Furthermore, there shall be no alteration made, in any of these
five

five fundamental articles, without the unanimous consent of all the members.

Particular alliances, though set on foot purely for the common defence of states in alliance with each other, are much more specious than solid; because a cunning and ambitious prince, who is not in the alliance, will easily find means to sow the seeds of dissention and jealousy between these allies, in order to disunite them. There can never be any lasting alliance for the security of the sovereign power, but upon two conditions:

First, It must be between all the most powerful princes of Europe.

Secondly, The ally must have evidently much more to fear than to hope, if he withdraws himself from the alliance, that he may never be tempted to such separation.

Public affairs are of two kinds: the first of these is regulated by the laws, and the judges, who are interpreters of the laws, and of all affairs between individuals; It is of little import to the government, whether it be Peter or Paul who has a right to a thing, provided that each of them can easily be made sensible of what is his right, and avoid the expences and trouble attending law-suits.

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There are affairs which are important, but are not regarded as urgent. Of this kind are regulations and establishments; these generally lie neglected for a considerable time, because the ministers always proceed first upon what they call the most urgent; and that the most urgent, tho' frequently the least important, generally form a current of affairs relating to particulars, which they strongly solicit; so that these smaller affairs take up almost all the time, and all the attention of the ministers, who should likewise apply themselves to the improving and perfecting the ancient establishments, or to the forming of new ones.

There are affairs which are both important and urgent, as those of the public finances, foreign negotiations, and war. These are not dispatched like the affairs of judicature, civil government, religion, domestic commerce, education, and the like; which may be said to dispatch themselves, upon the precedents of former establishments: but the affairs of war, negotiations, and the finances, require a constant and immediate attendance. These three sorts of affairs have each their particular ministers who act under the prime minister.

There is always in courts, a fourth class of affairs, that takes up the attention of the minister, according as the ruling power is more or less capricious, fearful, weak and inconstant: these are the

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the intrigues and cabals between the courtiers, who are always endeavouring to find fault with the minister, to get him deposed if possible, and set up another in his place.

This species of private affairs, often divide the attention of ministers, to the great prejudice of public affairs; for, in order to secure their fortunes against the artifices of their enemies, they are obliged to make use of spies and informers, and to humour and manage the favourites, and frequently to sacrifice justice and the interest of the king and state to private views: but these sorts of affairs are now greatly diminished by the resolution the king has shewn, on several occasions, to support the prime minister.

The change of manners in a nation proceeds from several causes.

FIRST, From the greater riches or poverty of individuals, and of the state.

II. From the perfection of certain arts, calculated for the greater conveniencies of life.

III. From the increase of certain branches of trade.

IV. From a greater propensity in the people to glory than pleasure, or *vice versa*.

V. From the prevailing opinions concerning those kinds of glory that are to be esteemed most valuable.

VI. This change in the manners is sometimes wrought by a genius of a fanatic turn, abounding in words. The fanatics have a victorious eloquence, and, amongst the ignorant part of the people, fanaticism is as catching as the plague.

VII. This change in the manners may come from a long continuance of wars, whether civil or foreign.

VIII. From the manners of a powerful and victorious nation.

IX. New manners and new customs are particularly induced by new establishments and new regulations, calculated for the honour and reward of the virtues and talents useful to a state.

Man naturally endeavours to be distinguished from his fellows, and posts and employs give him a sensible distinction: now if at present it happens, that to acquire this kind of distinction in the kingdom, and to secure the protection of the court, it is not necessary for a man to have more virtues or talents useful to the state than his fellows; but only to have money enough to purchase these posts

posts and employs, which are to be sold to the best bidder; it is not to be wondered at, if riches are more esteemed in our kingdom, than those virtues and talents which tend to the welfare of the nation. But, if some prime minister, who is an honest man, shall put a stop to this destructive venality amongst us; and, in order to fill worthily the posts and employments in the state, shall establish different classes of different ages in each profession; and that he may know with greater certainty and exactness, such as are distinguished by their talents and virtues, shall set on foot and bring to perfection the method of scrutiny by commissioners; he will cause a great change in our present notions of things that are more or less valuable, and consequently in the manners of the nation.

X. The military People in 1600 were more accustomed to the hardships and fatigues of war than in 1730; the arms they carried for offence and defence were more heavy; they eat with the same degree of pleasure indeed, but with much less nicety and delicacy.

XI. As it was remarked, that the loss of a battle did not necessarily bring on that of a whole province, provided there were any fortified places remaining in it. This observation put every power upon making new fortifications, that he might not be stripped of all his dominions by the ill fortune of a single day; and as it was found

that cavalry was useless in the attack of these places, an addition was made to the infantry, and the number of the cavalry was retrenched.

XII. The courage of our military people is not at all impaired since 1600, having been constantly kept up by foreign wars. There is even at present, a greater spirit of emulation amongst the officers, because there are a greater number of employs, governments, and pensions to be given away.

XIII. But, as in distributing these promotions and rewards, the court has not yet found the secret of consulting the suffrages of each company of thirty peers, in the different upper and lower classes; and as the minister generally pays a deference to the recommendation of a favourite or a mistress, or the degree of attachment and connection that the candidate stands in to himself, we see a number of brave and good officers passed by unnoticed, and persons preferred of little or no worth; which is a great discouragement to many, and does not a little damp the spirit of emulation amongst them; accordingly, we find them much less attentive to the well-discharging their duty, than taken up in making their court to ministers, favourite women, and even the secretaries and clerks of ministers.

XIV. From the number of places and favours to be disposed of. There is not a court in Europe, where

where it is more the interest of every one to study all possible ways of pleasing, and particularly by the various kinds of flattery, than in our's. So may we affirm, that there is no nation where the courtiers have more the outside of politeness; and as they reside more at Paris than at Versailles, their politeness of manners is more readily communicated to the citizens.

XV. We must not, however, suffer ourselves to be deceived; this politeness is wholly external; for the same men, who pay homage to a favourite courtier, who caress, praise and flatter him to his face, are ready to play him some trick the next moment, and do him an ill office with the king, or the minister. But indeed, few, except the provincials, are now-a-days to be imposed upon by the compliments of a courtier.

XVI. But yet it must be owned, that however light this species of court-coin, the outward politeness of speech and manners, may be, it is nevertheless of great use in our worldly commerce, and we should not balance between the necessity of a mutual deception, by a few polite words, and that of saying something disagreeable to one another every day, by discovering our sentiments such as they really are. It is much better to suffer ourselves to be thus deceived, allowing always a good judge of these matters to deduct

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considerably from the nominal value of these protestations of friendship.

XVII. Nor is it at all surprising, that the body of courtiers should be well practiced in the arts of dissimulation and falsehood; for, without it, it would be impossible for them to live upon genteel terms with people, with whom they must be every moment sharing something or another, as posts, employs, governments, friendships and favours; how would there be any living together, where every one thinks himself more worthy than his competitor, if it was not for imposing upon each other now and then by an outside of politeness.

XVIII. Our court-ladies, like most women of middling understandings, are very fond of dress and shew: they set the examples to other ladies and to the courtiers; and it is a merit at court to appear better and more magnificently dressed than others. Lewis XIV. had imbibed this taste from his infancy, and every one was desirous of distinguishing themselves, by improving upon the fashions; numbers carried these sort of expences to great excess; and had rather be notorious for the most scandalous injustice to their creditors, than not to have the pleasure of being distinguished by the richness or good taste of their cloaths; a fine distinction indeed! but as they concealed their debts, those by whom they were
ambitious

ambitious of being distinguished, knew nothing of the injustice they did their creditors; and they, on their side, gave themselves very little concern how much these despised and hated them.

XIX. The expences of the table, house and furniture, are carried much greater lengths than they were sixty or seventy years ago; and these expences and indulgencies will in all probability continue to increase, because every day produces some new improvement in arts; and as the greater part of the rich cannot distinguish themselves by the exertion of talents which they have not; they are willing to distinguish themselves by what they have, their riches.

The rich man, who is surrounded by a number of servants, and lives in a magnificent house, is frequently weak enough to imagine himself of much more importance than his neighbour, who is a man of virtue and talents, but cannot procure these things, because he is not rich: this is certainly judging like the common people; and it is surprising to see how many people of quality, for want of a good understanding, are in this respect, themselves very low people.

XX. Coaches were invented at the beginning of the last century; and there were, at that time, not above an hundred in all Paris, and those chiefly for the use of the ladies: the gentlemen
made

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made use of no other kind of carriage than saddle-horses; and as Paris, in 1658, was but very indifferently paved, and there were not a sufficient number of carts to clear all the streets of their dirt; it was hardly possible to pass in the city, otherwise than on horseback, or in boots; and the boots and gilt spurs were kept on even at common visits, and those who had neither horses nor coaches, always made their visits in white splatterdashes. Coaches, with glasses in the front, and at the sides, were invented about eighty years ago; and the late prince de Condé brought one of these glass-coaches with him from Brussels about the year 1660. Since that time, there have been great improvements and additions made to these equipages, both for ornament and conveniency: these carriages have been very instrumental in encouraging luxury and effeminacy. Such sort of conveniencies tend greatly to impair the health and vigour of the body, by depriving it of its exercise. Now it is, since the disuse of bodily exercise, and the increase of high living, that vapours and head-aches, and a number of other complaints of that nature have prevailed so much amongst our people of rank and fortune.

XXI. During the civil wars, every body wore a sword, especially officers and gentlemen; at the same time, a number of the middling people, in order to pass for officers and gentlemen, or for somewhat above the common rank, put on a sword

sword likewise by way of distinction : they have kept it since as an article of dress, and wear it to this day even in the churches, and at their visits, though in time of profound peace, which is very ridiculous ; for it certainly is full as absurd to carry a sword to church as a musquet : every one knows, that this custom of wearing a sword in the city is liable to many inconveniences ; besides, the gentleman is no longer distinguished by it from his valet-de-chambre. These remains of our civil wars still continue amongst us, but we shall soon see the swords go out with the boots and gilt spurs ; but first of all we should have some things, in the dress, to distinguish the nobleman from the tavern-keeper ; as, for instance, a small white flower of silk, embroidered and sewed to the coat.

XXII. About the year 1648, cards were first introduced at court. Cardinal Mazarin was a skilful gamester, and played very deep : he soon brought the king and queen-regent to play ; and then it was who should be foremost to make their court by playing ; games of chance, were soon made choice of in preference to others. Whole nights were spent, and vast sums lost at play ; and gaming, that might have served as an amusement and unbending, taken in moderation, became a serious occupation, and a passion destructive both to health and fortune. What was still more deplorable, the practice of card-playing, which had passed from
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the camp to the court, as quickly passed from the court to the city, and from the capital to all the little towns in the provinces. Before that, there was some conversation; people instructed one another; they read, and the reading of ancient and modern books furnished them with subjects to talk upon. The mind and memory were both more frequently exercised; but the people had, for some time, been gradually dropping the gymnastic diversions, such as tennis, the mall, billiards, &c. which made them grow more enervate, unhealthy, and ignorant; less polite, and more dissipated.

XXIII. The women, who had hitherto always made themselves respected, now accustomed the men to treat them with little or no deference, by giving them their companies all night at play; frequently too they were under the necessity of borrowing money of them, either to pay what they had lost, or to enable them to carry on the game; and it is well known how easy and complying they must necessarily be to those who laid them under such obligations: indeed, women do not only greatly embarrass their affairs by gaming, but it engrosses their attention so entirely, that rather than leave it, they will neglect the most important articles in the management of their families, the education of their children, and every other consideration of good oeconomy: and this dissipated way of life,

life, not unfrequently disposes them to thoughts of separation from their husbands.

XXIV. Nor are the men, who are professed gamesters, more proper to govern a family than the women ; on the contrary, as they have the disposal of the wealth of the family, they have it in their power to ruin it more speedily. The practice of gaming is a fatal disorder in the body politic : many attempts have been made to banish games of chance, but I fancy, in order to get rid of them effectually, it will be necessary to forbid playing at cards altogether be it ever so trifling or moderate ; because it is more difficult to get over a long habit of moderate playing, than to put a total stop to it at once ; therefore this requires a great share of steadiness and resolution in the governing power : a thing rare to be met with !

XXV. The sale of posts and employments has taken from us most of the emulation, we formerly had, of acquiring the talents and qualifications necessary to attain them. As nothing but money is now wanting to make a man a counselor, a president, or a master of requests, and birth and qualifications are things of no weight, the son of a financier, or a rich merchant, though without either virtue or talents, will be preferred to a post in the state before even a nobleman of the most distinguished merit, who has not money sufficient to purchase it. This begets two evils :

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evils : first, It encreases the number of financiers, which introduces usury and oppression : secondly, The children of creditable merchants, instead of continuing the commerce, carried on by their fathers with success to the advantage of the nation, throw themselves into the long robe : and in this unhappy channel do the honours and employments in the magistracy, at present flow.

XXVI. The same poison of venality began in the year 1650, to extend itself to the employs in the army : age, experience, long service, approved courage, and talents were no longer required to make a colonel. Money was all that was wanted : those places in the church immediately about the king's person were sold in the same manner ; nay, we see the like shameful practice introduced even into the marine and the artillery ; and it will one day prove a principal means of the overthrow of the monarchy, unless the king in his wisdom applies a speedy remedy to the fatal disorders caused by this venal distribution of posts and employments.

XXVII. Every one who has the least thought, or serious reflection, on those things that are of most importance to our happiness, cannot but know, that the chief means of avoiding punishment, and obtaining felicity hereafter, are to avoid displeasing God by doing any hurt or injustice to our husband, our wife, our servants, our master, or our neighbour ; and secondly, to endeavour to please him by doing them

them all the good that is in our power : and yet from the effect of the old customs of our forefathers, customs which were originally derived from the ignorance of early ages, the people neglect these two essential means, to give into others which are infinitely less efficacious ; such as a number of ceremonies, long-winded prayers, fastings, pilgrimages, &c. which can produce no kind of advantage, either to the poor, the ignorant, or our neighbours, nor make any atonement for faults committed. But, I hope, these outward trappings of religion will daily fall off, and that an exact observance of justice, and the practice of mutual beneficence will prevail in their stead, in proportion as universal reason shall take growth amongst men, and the dominion of fanaticism, the offspring of the ancient ignorance of our forefathers lose ground amongst us.

XXVIII. Tavern-debauches have been carried to a great length ; but this pernicious custom is greatly worn off, since those of the most understanding have taken to eating at each other's houses ; and no longer pique themselves upon the beastly and foolish merit of tossing off whole pailfuls of wine like an elephant ; what greatly contributed to cure us of these debauches, were the sudden deaths of a number of these drunkards in the flower of their age, after having lost all taste for every thing but strong liquors.

XXIX. The

XXIX. The many means of indulging the appetites, with which Paris abounds, have greatly corrupted our youth. The generality of them begin early to have a distaste for labour and application, and throw themselves into the arms of pleasure; because our laws are not yet arrived to that degree of wisdom, which recompences by suitable rewards and honours, such who distinguish themselves from their fellows by works of public utility; and it is particularly with a view to this, that I have endeavoured, by my writings, to bring about among us, the establishment of the scrutiny by peers, when the filling up of places in the higher classes from the most deserving of the lower classes are in question; or when honours or pensions are to be distributed to the most deserving persons in each company of thirty of each class.

XXX. and Lastly, Our learned men, for these last eighty years, have very much given into researches that are of very little use to the sciences; our bright geniusses have been at great pains in diligently observing those things that rendered their works more agreeable and entertaining: we have but just begun to discover, that it is not sufficient for them barely to please their readers, but that they must likewise be more useful to them than other authors, either ancient or modern. These gentlemen have, indeed, procured their cotemporaries a momentary pleasure; but the greatest part of them

them have not sufficient discernment, to find that the business of their writings is not so much to dispute with those of their own class on the mind, and the beauty of the mind, the penetration of the mind ; or on memory embellished with a number of curious facts ; but to dispute on those works that produce the most solid and durable advantages to the state, so as not only to encrease the happiness of their cotemporaries, but likewise to add considerably to that of posterity ; but in this respect our reason is still very weak.

Lewis XIV. attained his twentieth year the fifth of September 1658. The queen, his mother, had caused him to be declared of age in parliament, the seventh of September 1651, when he was only thirteen years and one day old. But this declaration was a matter of mere form ; for there was no alteration made in the ministry ; only the words, *By advice of the queen regent, &c.* were left out in the decrees of council, and in the edicts and declarations ; but she continued to govern the same as before, under the king's name, and cardinal Mazarin to act as prime minister under her authority. It was natural for the queen and the cardinal to be desirous of keeping the administration as long in their hands as possible ; and to that end, they could do nothing better than to leave the king to amuse himself, and pass his time, in such diversions as were suited to his age : thus he became of himself as much estranged to all kind of applica-

tion to public affairs as they could possibly desire. It is not to be wondered at, if in such a situation he was startled at the notion of business, and the trouble inseparable from a continued attention. Accordingly, though already turned of his twentieth year, he thought of nothing but balls, masquerades, tournaments, plays, hunting, cards, dice, or engaging in little love-intrigues. He was handsome, portly, well-made, mild and polite, and appeared more inclinable to a passion for women than debauch: cardinal Mazarin had sent for his nieces, the Mancini, from Italy. The eldest, who was afterwards married to the constable Colonna, a gay, lively, witty, forward girl, greatly pleased the king. She was about seventeen, well-made, had a pretty shape, and a face tolerably handsome. She was the king's first passion, and he would have desired nothing better than to have married her, could Anne of Austria ever have consented to give her the preference to her niece Maria Theresa, infanta of Spain. It was a great misfortune to the state, that the queen had taken so little care to engage the king's attention to matters of government, when he was arrived at an age for it, as a means of strengthening his understanding; he was not so much as inspired with a taste for reading even of history, which is almost the only way by which kings may be made acquainted with their faults, and their duties, by setting before their eyes the faults and misfortunes of princes like themselves. The king's understanding was not the most lively, penetrating,

penetrating, or extensive, few however had a more just one; but unhappily, for want of reading, he had no other way of profiting by the knowledge of others than by conversation. Therefore good and well digested memorials, relating to the several parts of the kingly office, could be of no service to him; and reading, that only method of strengthening the understanding, and rendering it more comprehensive, was, unhappily for him and for us, absolutely useless towards making him a good king. The mind, like the body, acquires strength only by early and continued exercise, and being accustomed to a greater or less degree of application and long attention to one subject: the greater and more constant the attention is, the greater will be the strength of the understanding. The king's education was such as never gave him room for a serious attention to any subject; when he grew weary of one, he changed it for another: so that it is no wonder, that the smallest degree of attention was irksome to him. Now, as he was never under the least restraint from his masters, he used to change frequently, consequently could not attain that exalted strength of understanding that can only proceed from continued application. He readily listened to facts that he could comprehend with ease, and would even repeat them again with grace; but for arguments, especially such which depend upon those *à priori* they surpassed the power of his understanding, because he had never acquired a habit of application; and as he could not

readily comprehend a chain of argumentation, he never conceived in its full force what he did not conceive immediately. This is the extent of a middling capacity ; but as, in the main, he was resolute and determined in what he once made his will, on this side he had something great in his character : and, in this kind of obstinacy and resolution, he surpassed most of his predecessors and cotemporaries. I call, by the name of obstinacy, that unwearied desire he had to aggrandize himself by the arts of war, and to shew strangers the just and extensive idea he had of them, and what he was able to do in point of pomp and shew ; so that it is not to be wondered at, if those arts that depend upon parade, especially the military, were brought to so high a degree of perfection in France during his reign. Would to heaven, that for his glory and our happiness, he had had as earnest a desire of maintaining peace in Europe, and encreasing riches and good establishments at home ! but he had not the least notion of this method of becoming great.

The court is composed of a prodigious number of people, in continual expectations of the gifts and favours, that are in the disposition of the crown : there were, every day, abbies, bishoprics, governments, posts, pensions, and other things to give away ; but, for want of a sure rule to know those who were most distinguished for national merit, and as every thing was given to the recommendation

commendation of ladies, ministers and favourites, the palace was filled with a set of courtiers wholly attentive to pleasing the queen-mother, the king her son, cardinal Mazarin the prime minister, the court-favourites, and the friends of these favourites; but, at the same time, let no occasion slip of dexterously ruining or supplanting those they looked upon as their rivals. Abundance of complaisance and good breeding, and very little probity and sincerity is the general character of courtiers; for persons of probity, and such who prefer virtue to the gifts of fortune, make very bad courtiers: they are quickly supplanted; for it is the fate of honest men, who themselves never attack the bad or deceitful, to be always secretly attacked by the envious and the calumniatory.

As the king had very little influence in the distribution of favours, during the cardinal's ministry, his favourites were continually insinuating to him motives for taking the management of affairs into his own hands; and happily the interested views of his flatterers brought him by degrees, to resolve to apply himself to his kingly occupation. Though he did scarcely any thing by his own authority, and might be said to act only by way of solicitation and request with the queen and the cardinal; yet the courtiers had remarked in him a great firmness and resolution; consequently that he had the same in regard to the confidence

he shewed in the abilities of cardinal Mazarin. This single notion that they by degrees imbibed, of the king's resolute disposition, of which he had given proofs, from the time he had attained his seventeenth or eighteenth year, dissipated by little and little the views of the malcontents and factious part of the kingdom; they no longer thought of disturbing the public quiet, under pretence of the king's authority being abused by the minister, to the prejudice of the nation's interest: they knew, that the king was unalterable in his determinations, and that as he appeared resolved to support his minister, he would do it to the very utmost. He inherited this firmness from his father, the late king Lewis XIII. who, in the like manner, supported cardinal de Richelieu his prime minister; and to this firmness alone were owing the successes of his reign. And, it may be affirmed, that if Anne of Austria had, during her regency, shewed a little more firmness, and even resentment, upon certain occasions, instead of betraying a fearfulness and inconstancy, her government would have been always peaceful and undisturbed; but surrounded as she was by a set of either fearful or artful women, set on by factious and discontented persons, it was hardly possible for her to govern otherwise than she did. An English Elizabeth is a rarity among women.

There

There did not want for factious persons in the court; but fear prevented them from making any progress: and had they even been able to place **MONSIEUR** the king's only brother at the head of a party, they could never have expected any solid advantage from it. Thus cardinal Mazarin continued in the peaceable possession of the reins of government till his death, through the king's indolent but resolute character.

The king at this time made up for his little application to public affairs, by shewing, as his father had done before him, a firm confidence in the man who took this application and trouble upon him in his stead: but will shew us how far the sequel, the king could apply himself to business upon the death of cardinal Mazarin, and with what success.

My principal view in these **ANNALS** is to point out the perfections and defects of mankind in their political systems, and not in their morality. It should be his intention who writes the life of a great man to encrease his reader's happiness by forming him, so as to make the rule he fills in life useful to his country; to inspire him with a more ardent desire of virtue, by painting the rewards due to success, which springs from talents and virtue. Now the historian, or rather the po-

litical journalist looks farther than the emolument of particular readers, he aims at encreasing the happiness of his country by pointing out for imitation to the chief rulers the excellencies of their predecessors; by remarking to them their miscarriages, which they shall thus in like circumstances be taught to avoid.

My principal view in this Axiom is to point out the perfections and defects of mankind in their political systems, and not in their moralities. It should be his intention who writes the life of a great man to extract his reader's happiness by forming him, so as to make the rule he fills in life useful to his country; to inspire him with a more ardent desire of virtue, by painting the rewards due to it, which springs from talents and virtue. Now the historian, or rather the political

POLITICAL

POLITICAL ANNALS.

THE YEAR 1658.

AT this time France carried on the war with superiority against the Emperor; but this superiority was not considerable enough to give any great alarm to its neighbours. The Prince de Condé, one of the most famous generals of his time, and first prince of the blood, had very imprudently, and indeed very unjustly, deserted his native country, to put himself at the head of the enemy's forces. In justification of this revolt he complained, that the queen and the prime minister cardinal Mazarin, in the distribution of places and favours, had shewed very little regard to the people of his recommendation. But the case was really this, the officers of his household, who were for making the most of his credit at court, were not to be satisfied with all the favours he could procure for them; but were still urging him to make other demands, and then to complain,

plain, if he chanced to be refused what he asked. Thus the chief source of his misfortunes was, that he did not see in time, that it was by his own friends and dependents that he was set against the government, and that they only made use of him to serve their own interests. It is true, that the prime minister was timorous, and easily frightened by the prince's menaces: accordingly the officers and dependents of this latter found it their interest to irritate him as much as possible against the cardinal, and then make his discontent public. By these means they raised a disturbance in the court, and obliged the minister to take some steps unfavourable to the prince's liberty, who by this time was shrewdly suspected of no less a crime than aiming to destroy the government at the expence of the public tranquillity.

I do not see, that he had any personal cause of complaint against the court, unless he pretended to a right of governing himself in the capacity of regent, to the prejudice of the queen-regent the king's mother: a pretention equally unjust and absurd; therefore ought he not to have run the risque of lighting up the flames of civil war in the bowels of his country to revenge his domestics? For doubtless the putting himself at the head of the malcontents was a very unjustifiable act; but he was passionate, and his resentment would not let him observe the great injustice he committed, in departing from his obedience

ence to the queen-regent ; for had he himself been regent would he not have considered such a revolt as very unjust ? Such were the effects of the bandage that passion drew over his eyes. As he was naturally fiery and impatient for want of a good education, his dependents had the less difficulty to rouse him to resentment against the queen-regent and the cardinal ; accordingly he unhappily found himself engaged to act against justice and his country's peace, who from his rank and birth ought to have been its chief prop and support. Though possessed of the most shining military talents he had little or no success all the time of his revolt ; and he had been beaten this very year by marshal Turenne.

The English had hitherto remained strictly neutral between France and Spain ; but cardinal Mazarin managed matters so well by his negotiations that he prevailed on them to declare for France, by offering to assist them in taking Dunkirk from the Spaniards ; they were in hopes, that by being in possession of this port, they should be able to make themselves masters of the Channel, and keep the Dutch in awe, whose trade had for some years greatly over-powered their own : accordingly the English promised on their part a fleet of twenty ships of war, sufficient to block up Dunkirk, and landed an army of six thousand men at Calais. The foregoing year we had taken the fort of Mardyke, which was necessary towards making the approaches

approaches to Dunkirk, and as the prince easily guessed we had a design upon that place, he forgot nothing to put it in a condition to stand a siege. The Spaniards on the other side had placed a very strong garrison in it, commanded by the marquis de Lédé one of their best generals; and what made this undertaking still more difficult, was the certainty that the Spaniards would do their utmost to succour it, and oblige us if possible to raise the siege: and that the prince de Condé, who was at that time their head general, would hazard every thing to succeed. These difficulties were great, and to surmount them required not only a great number of troops, but above all a general fit to be opposed to the prince: that is, one as much distinguished for valour and reputation as himself, but one of superior skill and foresight in conducting a difficult and tedious enterprize. No one of our generals possessed these qualifications in a degree equal to marshal Turenne; and it was a spectacle worthy the attention of all Europe, and especially of all military people, to behold two the greatest generals upon earth preparing, the one to take Dunkirk, and the other to relieve it. The king, who was now twenty years old, had a great desire to command in person on this occasion, but the queen-mother and the prime minister, who had always a great influence over him, dissuaded him from it. So the court remained at Calais, which is not above eight leagues distant from Dunkirk, and the king contented himself with visiting the

the siege from time to time, to instruct himself by observing the dispositions of the camp, and the nature of the attacks. The place, though closely blocked up by sea and briskly attacked by land, made a very vigorous defence; and as the garrison was numerous, the marquis de Léde made several sallies, in order to retard the progress of the works, and to give the Spaniards time enough to march to its relief.

At length the day came, in which the prince de Condé and Don John of Austria drew near to succour the place. Marshal Turenne knew perfectly well, that however good the lines of contravallation were, it is generally more for the advantage of the besiegers, to abandon their lines than to wait for the enemy's attacking them. He accordingly quitted his, having only a sufficient number of troops to cover the works against the garrison, and marched forward to meet the prince.

The two armies, nearly equal in number, being drawn out in order of battle, Don John, who commanded to the right towards the sea, found himself stationed directly over-against Lockhart, at the head of his six thousand English, who fell briskly upon the Spanish infantry in the trenches they had thrown up. These however defended their post with such success, that the English began to give way, when the French horse of the left wing having broken the cavalry of the Spaniards
right

right wing next the sea, now took their infantry in flank, and by that means gave the English an easy opportunity of breaking into the trenches, and then victory began to declare in favour of the French.

The Prince on his side had gained some little advantage with his left wing over marshal Turenne; but being informed of what had happened to Don John on the right, he immediately flew thither, where he found the troops broken and in confusion, and could never bring them to form again: the utmost he could do was by putting himself, with great resolution and courage, at the head of the cavalry, to stop the French for a while, and give the Spaniards an opportunity of retiring with less loss; but no sooner had he quitted his left wing than the right of the viscount of Turenne gained the superiority, and victory declared for the French.

It is impossible to conceive the despair of the prince de Condé, in finding himself so compleatly beaten by marshal Turenne; nor the marshal's joy at having had so fine an opportunity of trying his skill with success against that of so great a captain: however he spoke in the modestest terms of what he himself had done, and gave the most willing commendations to the enemy's merits; and in particular to the surprising valour of the English, the good conduct of their general, and the

the great skill and courage of the prince de Condé.

A few days after the battle, the marquis de Léde was killed in a sally: he was greatly censured for taking the command on such an occasion; for bravery, which is so commendable on certain occasions, becomes blameable, when exerted imprudently. Now it is certainly very imprudent for the governor of an important place to perform the functions of an inferior officer; every one ought to have his proper station, and all goes well when each person fully discharges the duties of his respective post. The town capitulated soon after the death of its governor.

The king paid a visit to his new conquest before he delivered it up to the English, who on their sides restored to him the fort of Mardyke; the fatigue he had undergone, and the heat of the sun, which had beat upon his head all the day, threw him into a very dangerous disorder on his return to Calais; his physicians lost hopes of him, the town, court and army were already in tears, at the near prospect of losing a prince so amiable, not only in point of person, but for his sweetness and affability of manners, and of whom the people had formed the most pleasing hopes, as one whose reign would be the happiest they had for a long time experienced.

Things

Things were in this situation, when an old physician came in haste, and just at the right time gave him the emetic powder, a vomit very little known or used at that time : this saved him, and the general despair was turned to universal joy.

During the remainder of the campaign, our troops took Bergues, Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenard, Menin, Ypres and Gravelines. It was astonishing, that after so compleat a victory we could not gain more ground ; but the reason was, that these places lay so near to each other, that they formed as it were a double barrier. Now it was necessary to reduce these before we could proceed farther ; for by leaving them in our rear, parties might have been detached from the garrisons to intercept our convoys with provisions, for want of which the army could not have proceeded. By this the king saw plainly, that had it not been for the great number of strong holds, his army would in consequence of a single victory have reduced all Flanders in a month's time ; and then he first began to perceive that the chief means to support a state, in troublesome times, is to lay out every year, during peace, considerable sums upon fortifications, and he followed this wise maxim in the sequel by building several new places, and greatly improving the fortifications of the old ones.

The

The Spaniards were likewise on the defensive in Catalonia, and in the Milanese; the imperial branch of the house of Austria had its hands tied by the treaty of Munster, and dared not to afford any succours to that of Spain, for fear of drawing upon itself the Swedes, and all the protestant princes of the empire, who were the guarantees of this treaty. The sense of this disagreeable superiority, and the birth of a son, induced Philip IV. to conclude a peace, and offer his eldest daughter in marriage to Lewis XIV. The queen-regent passionately desired this alliance for the king her son, and would gladly have given up a number of places to bring it about. The Spaniards, who had artfully discovered the earnest desire the queen had for this match, easily consoled themselves for their present losses, secure of recovering them all again by a peace that we were likely to purchase on very dear terms. The cardinal was no less desirous of the match, but then he was not willing that it should cost the king so many places; therefore in concert with the queen, tho' without the young king's participation, he caused a report to be spread, that her majesty, finding it impossible to bring about this marriage with her niece upon *reasonable terms*, and being desirous to have the king married, who was now turned of his twentieth year, had thoughts of espousing him to the eldest princess of Savoy. This report together with the news that the court of France and that

of Savoy purposed making each of them a journey to Lyons, soon reached Madrid, as the cardinal had desired: upon which the Spanish council fearing that this journey to Lyons was in good earnest intended to bring about the king's marriage; and that if such a marriage should take place, France would never restore any part of what she had conquered from the crown of Spain, but would on the contrary very speedily make many more; immediately dispatched Pimentel, secretary of state, post to Lyons, incognito, with full powers to treat of the marriage with the infanta, and of the articles of peace.

The principal articles were soon agreed upon and signed; and the other articles of less importance were referred to the treaty of the Pyrenees, which was concluded the following year: here the cardinal was guilty of a great oversight, in referring the settling of the remainder of the articles, to a time when he must know he could not deny his assent, or go back from what he had done; whereas he might have settled them all at Lyons to his own wish, considering the authority he acquired from the apprehensions of the court of Spain, of seeing no end to a war that had already proved so ruinous to their nation. The dutchess of Savoy returned very much piqued at having taken this journey, only to hasten the infanta's marriage; but it is certain, that if Pimentel had not come so *à-propos*, and assented to terms that were tolerably

tolerably agreeable; the king, who found the princels of Savoy very much to his taste, would have wedded her with the queen's consent, and have prosecuted the war with advantage.

The emperor Ferdinand III. died the second of April 1657, and left his son Leopold his successor; but as the laws of the empire do not permit any one to be elected emperor who is not at least seventeen years of age compleat; and as Leopold wanted about fourteen months of that age, his election was put off till the ensuing year 1658. During this interval the electors, princes and states of the empire, who were all of them very well pleased with the treaty of Munster, resolved to take the strongest measures before the election came on, to oblige the future emperor to execute this treaty exactly. And to this purpose the greater part of the electors and princes of the empire, in concert with the court of France, entered into a league called the *league of the Rhine*, and drew up articles for the greater security of the princes, and the liberty of votes in the diets, which they proposed to oblige Leopold to sign, before they would elect him emperor. This afterwards went by the name of the *Imperial Leopoldin capitulation*, and was looked on at that time as a sufficient barrier against any intended encroachment on the side of the emperor upon the liberty and authority of the members of the empire; but the greatest equity is not a sufficient barrier against the attempts

of injustice unless accompanied by superior force. Leopold the more readily agreed to these articles, as his ministers had given him to understand, that it was necessary for the present to give way to superior force; but that means might be easily found hereafter to disunite the members of the empire, and to attach one part of them to the interest of the house of Austria, and take off the other from their alliance with France; that therefore the promises now forcibly extorted from him would bind him no longer than he should see fit to execute them; when once, through the mutual divisions and jealousies amongst the electors and princes, he should have the balance of power on his side. To this they added, that the jealousies between house and house would alone be sufficient to keep up these divisions; that these divisions would effectually prevent them from entering into any leagues for their mutual defence; that the want of such defensive leagues would afford the emperor ample opportunity of establishing his rights; that is to say, of reviving by little and little certain despotic rights enjoyed by Charlemagne, and to which he now succeeded.

These ministers knew very well, that treaties made between a powerful state and a weak one, will subsist no longer than it is the interest of the powerful one to observe them; a superior power to either might indeed be called in as a guarantee, and sufficiently find his interest in this guarantee-ship;

ship; but it is not possible to find a like power, greatly superior to him to be a guarantee for his performance, and to be sufficiently interested in this its guaranteeship; nor is it possible to find a like power that shall be greatly superior, perpetually unchangeable, and sufficiently interested in the execution of its guaranteeship; unless composed of all the powers of Europe, as well the weak as the strong.

This year the famous Cromwell, who reigned in England, with the title of Protector, died of a retention of urine, occasioned by the gravel, owing to his excessive watchings, which the incessant machinations of his enemies rendered necessary. From unjust ambition soon spring enemies that cause disturbances and inquietudes, which render life disagreeable, nay disgusting, as well as contribute to shorten it. Hence it follows, that extent of power while it produces so many foes is not to be coveted as an encrease of human happiness; though it is the opinion of some, who know not how to distinguish between such tyrannical potentates as cause themselves to be hated and feared, and such powers as can secure love and respect. Cromwell affected not only the appearance of a zealous Presbyterian, but was even devout in that religion, thereby to win the affections of that party, because they opposed the king. He was an enemy to parasites, elo-

quent * and warm ; but a good officer, particularly vigilant and active. These qualities soon distinguishing him among his brethren, induced the parliament to raise him to the rank of general over other officers who had more sense and more moderation. The parliament was offended with the king, he was in his turn enraged against them, and they had reason to dread the consequences of his indignation if they left him the least power. It was no more than prudence in the long parliament for some time to prefer this man to many officers less zealous ; but they were wrong in not substituting in his place, after he had defeated the king's troops, a general of a juster ambition, and in that less to be feared. They were blinded by enthusiasm, and as they were all agitated, either with the fear of being punished as rebels, or with an excess of hatred to the king, they found their security only in continuing the power in his hands, who was instigated with the same passions of hatred and fear as themselves, who had also eradicated their principal fear ; as if nothing was to be
dreaded

* Our author in some measure mistakes the character of Cromwell, who so far from being eloquent was generally perplexed and diffused in his discourse, for which the enthusiasm of his manner was a sufficient veil. But on the other hand, he was clear in all his designs, easily foreseeing every consequence that could possibly result from his undertakings, which were generally heroic, if we except the hand he had in bringing his master to the block. Policy made him sometimes tyrannical, but he was naturally just.

dreaded from a man fraught with ambition, vested with power, actuated by pride, and not to be restrained by justice.

When the Protector had centered in himself all the regal authority, they saw clearly, but too late, that in ridding themselves of the yoke of Charles I. they had saddled themselves with another, neither in reality less galling nor less weighty. A fit of the gravel however happily delivered them, at the end of ten years, of a man whom they then hated, as he not only aimed at depriving them of votes in parliament, but even of the parliaments themselves which met annually. It appeared in the end, they had taken all these pains to dethrone a king whom they deemed unjust, because he had endeavoured to assume to himself a right of levying taxes without consent of parliament, only to make room for a monarch more unjust differing but in denomination.

Cromwell then was no more than an illustrious villain; for what better name does he deserve, who had overturned the fundamental laws of his country, in depriving it of the authority and liberty of parliaments. Such at least is the notion conceived of him by all countries, but more especially by the contemporaries of his own nation. Now, I leave it to reflection, if such a reputation is to be coveted; if it is worth all the pains which he took to raise himself to the most elevated rank. This proves,

that he was a stranger to real reputation, since the only honourable game he had to play with the parliament was, to assist them in giving to the government by little and little that form of a republic which appeared to be the chief wish of the majority of the nation, and of all those who had began the revolution. Can he ever be excused for having subjected his masters? and is it not an excess of folly and of wickedness that could induce him to proceed so as to procure to himself equally the hatred of his partizans and their opponents; to sacrifice friends and enemies, nay even his country to a power without bounds, which power he should have held of the parliament from whom he received it as a depositum? this ought to have been his only view had he sought true glory in promoting the public utility of his country.

Cromwell was a man of resolution and great presence of mind; this presence of mind, the effect of a lively imagination, suggested to him the properest means of arriving at his ends; but brought up in maxims of the lower sort of people, could he have other ends than sentiments such as theirs inspired? and could he have ever found any thing more estimable than great power acquired by great talents; yet without minding the means of carrying this great power into action, so as to make it more estimable. His education was neither sufficiently good, nor his genius elevated to shew him that great power and excellent

lent talents, when exercised with a view to encrease the miseries of one's country, procure only the blame and hatred of one's fellow-citizens, instead of their praise and esteem. No man knew better how to chuse his methods of proceeding; but can it be said, that he was judicious in the ends he had in view? the general end of ambition is glory of the most valuable sort; how can he obtain it, who is incapable of distinguishing what he is in search of? it is true, that men of strong talents and extensive genius, whether adapted to peace or war are not very common; but are not they who can sagaciously foresee the event of human calculations, who infallibly discern true glory and real merit still less common?

Christina queen of Sweden, the only daughter of the great Gustavus, was then in France; she had come hither in 1656. Six years before, the great Des-Cartes died in her house at Stockholm. She had a taste for science, and invited to her court, from different parts of Europe, the most learned men of the age. The celebrated Grotius, while her ambassador in France, had procured her many from that kingdom. Bochart a learned Calvinist, minister of Caën, carried over with him the young Huet, afterwards bishop of Avranches, in 1652. She was well inclined to profit by the conversation of these famous litterati; but Bourdelot, a young French physician, a man of wit and a Pyrrhonist, who was here in 1650, laid hold of her natural
turn

turn for amusement, and her dislike to business, inspired her with a taste for comedy, and a total disrelish of science. The senators who saw themselves overlooked, the government neglected, and the queen lost in dissipation, cast their eyes on a young prince of the house Palatine, who was her near relation. He was a man of spirit, had many friends, and had been educated with her in Sweden. It was hinted to her, that if her cousin mounted the throne, and she chose to live abroad, he would cause a pension to be paid her of two thousand silver marks a month. She soon acquiesced to the proposal through the advice of Bourdelot, and some favourite Italians of her household. The retreat she then chose was France. But Mazarin, who dreaded her gaining an ascendancy over the minds of the king and queen, obtained permission to signify to her in his master's name, that her changing it would be more agreeable to the court. She then retired to Rome, where she lived and died in the profession of that church.

The attention of those who are at the head of affairs, being engrossed by the events of war and foreign occurrences, often overlook matters of a domestic nature, which therefore remain as it were in a state of inaction. Thus we see not in France, this year, any regulation, any important establishment for the public good.

1659.

Pimentel returned from Madrid to Paris the beginning of this year, and brought with him the ratification of the articles that had been signed at Lyons and Paris; but as there remained yet several of importance to be settled, it was agreed, that the cardinal as prime minister of the court of France, and the count Duke d'Olivarez, as prime minister of that of Spain, should repair with all convenient speed to the frontiers, near Bayonne, there jointly to put the finishing hand to the treaty.

Pimentel had more ample instructions by him than those which he produced at Lyons, and had cardinal Mazarin made a point of keeping several places, he would have left scarcely any thing to settle at the treaty of the Pyrenees, but now the count duke d'Olivarez the Spanish minister, fully persuaded that the queen of France passionately desired this match with her niece the infanta Maria Theresa, took so much the upper hand in the conferences at the Pyrenees, and stuck so firmly by his resolution not to conclude the marriage, unless France granted all his demands; that the cardinal quickly repented him of not having settled every thing with Pimentel at Lyons, especially at a time when Spain was under the apprehension of an alliance between the French king and the
house

house of Savoy. He repented likewise of having signed a suspension of arms for Flanders and the Milanese, because we were at that time greatly superior in those parts, and the advantages we should have been every month gaining, would have disposed the Spanish court to be much more tractable and readier to come to a speedy conclusion.

The Emperor, who was eighteen years of age, had an extreme desire to espouse the eldest infanta Maria Theresa, to fix in his own line the advantageous claims annexed to such a birth-right: accordingly his council left nothing undone to traverse the marriage of this princess with Lewis XIV. and if possible to break off the treaty. The Emperor himself promised to march at the head of sixty thousand men against France, alledging, that by this diversion he would afford the Spaniards the easy means of recovering every thing that we had gained from them, and even to make new conquests upon us.

But the Spanish council who perceived that, on one side, the Emperor was prevented by the new-made league of the Rhine from taking even the first step to fulfil these promises, without bringing Sweden and the greatest part of the princes of the Empire upon his hands; and on the other, that the Spanish monarchy would never be able to reduce the kingdom of Portugal again under their dominion, which was what they had much more

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at heart than the recovery of a few places in Flanders, unless the king of Spain could gather all his forces together to turn them on that side; kept close by their first system till the entire conclusion of the Pyrenean treaty.

The cardinal however was not without his apprehensions at the powerful instances and offers as made by the Emperor: he was likewise very sensible, that if Spain would not abate any thing in her demands with respect to the articles that remained to be settled, he should be obliged to break off the negotiation: so that at all events he was resolved to be prepared for making new conquests, and acting with superiority on all sides, agreeable to the maxim, *The more you desire peace, the greater preparations you should make for war. Si vis pacem, para bellum.* This succeeded accordingly; for the Spaniards would never have made the least abatements but through fear of the war, after they had entertained the notion that the queen-regent was determined, cost what it would, to have her niece the infanta Maria-Theresa for a daughter-in-law.

Hostilities were suspended: the ministers of each court set out on their way, and the conferences were opened in the beginning of August in a small island formed by the little river Bidassoa, which parts the two kingdoms. After each day's conference, the cardinal returned and lay at St. Jean de Luz, and the count duke at Andaya. The two secre-
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aries of state, the marquis de Lyonne for France, and Don Colonna for Spain, jointly took care to prepare the matter for each conference, in order to hasten the negociation. Nevertheless it took up twenty-four conferences, and the whole was not signed till the seventh of November 1659.

As the king of Spain was desirous of conducting the infanta his daughter to the frontiers, and the season was too far advanced to allow of his taking this journey on account of his bad state of health, the marriage was put off till the spring following. Lewis on his side was not very impatient to consummate it, as he found himself violently in love with Maria Mancini, the eldest of the cardinal's nieces; and daughter to an Italian gentleman. She was young, lively, gay, and tolerably handsome; she amused the king, was smart, and coquettish; and at times knew how to put on an air of haughtiness and reserve that piqued him; so that he would not have scrupled to marry her in preference to the infanta his cousin, could the queen, and the cardinal ever have been brought to give their consent.

But the queen had had this match in view from the birth of her son and her niece, that is, for above twenty years. It was her chief object, her darling passion. Now the cardinal, like a prudent man, was very cautious how he gave any uneasiness of this kind to the queen; he looked upon the

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the king's passion for his niece, as a transitory folly that would soon have an end, not only from possession, but from the giddy disposition of his niece; he considered it as a match that would be broken almost as soon as consummated, and must infallibly bring on the ruin of his family, leaving him nothing in return for his consent but the resentment and indignation of both kingdoms, the eternal hatred of the royal family, and the perpetual infamy of having suffered his young master to commit so great a piece of folly.

The cardinal was covetous and ambitious; but he was at the same time very prudent, and foresaw events clearer than most people. So that the constant and vigorous manner in which he opposed this marriage with his niece was less a sacrifice which he made of his interest to his duty, than the effect of his great understanding and consummate prudence, which had taught him how little he was to depend upon his niece's character.

At the conferences for the peace appeared an envoy from the commonwealth of England; this was colonel Lockhart governor of Dunkirk. After the death of Cromwell, Richard his son had been declared Protector; but he was a man wholly devoted to his pleasures, and through want of abilities and industry, but chiefly through want of courage and resolution, was quickly obliged to resign the reins of government.

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The form of government in England seemed at this time greatly disposed to become republican, through the violent aversion the people had taken to monarchy; but there was one very powerful obstacle in the way, and the commonwealth party had not been skilful enough to make the most of certain precious moments, in which they might have surmounted it. This obstacle was the army which had its quarters very near London. The officers had during the tyranny of Cromwell made a trial of their strength, and knew that they had by violence divested the parliament of its authority, and dispersed the republican party to make way for the advancement of general Cromwell.

At this time there was no general in chief. There were indeed three generals of nearly the same degree of credit, Lambert, Monk, and Fleetwood, and each of these commanded a separate army: but they all joined in obstinately refusing to depend upon the members of the house, whom they looked upon as greatly inferior to themselves. On the other hand, they would not submit the one to the other; and had rather recal king Charles II. and obey him, than acknowledge one of their fellows for a master, or truckle to the Parliamentarians, whom they looked upon as a set of mean, low-bred mechanics.

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The zealous commonwealth-men had in their favour a greater share of abilities for government, and the confidence of the people, who chearfully paid whatever taxes were imposed by the parliament: but the army had the superior force on their side. Now the officers, who were insolent and overbearing, and accustomed to make themselves feared, and were besides members of parliament; could not brook the thoughts of paying obedience to those by whom they were feared, and who were wholly defenceless and unarmed. So naturally is man inclined to presumption, that the military people soon began to think themselves as capable of managing the affairs of government, if not more so, than those who were actually in authority.

In this situation, the only thing the parliament had to do, was directly to break the regiments and officers, and dismiss the common men, and in a fortnight afterwards to give commissions to one half of the colonels and captains, who were known to be best affected to the commonwealth government, to assemble troops upon the borders; and to leave a few officers of the same cast in the places near London. But the members were greatly divided amongst themselves by their different opinions, and private hatreds and animosities. A division that extremely weakened the authority of the house, so that it had neither

spirit to attempt a bold stroke, nor power to support it afterwards.

The commonwealth party should have concerted betwixt themselves a plan of government. There wanted unanimity among the Parliamentarians to make it relished by one party, and a resolution in the other to enforce its reception, and to establish it by dint of fear where they could not do it by persuasion. But in my opinion they had no settled plan, and wanted both unanimity and courage. Accordingly the Royalists made their advantage of the division between the army and the parliament; and especially of that between the chiefs of the army themselves.

Monk, who had the most abilities and dissimulation of any of the chiefs of the army, saw very early that this confusion would end in the general wishes of the officers and troops, and afterwards of all those who were not in the parliamentary interest to recal a king now made wise and moderate by his own misfortunes. Therefore this wary general very prudently made a private treaty of his own with the king, to bring him back to his capital again without a battle, and even by the unanimous desire of the nation, by means of letters to be written to the parliament and himself, upon a plan which he had privately sent to the king for that purpose.

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It is certain, that without the restoration of the lawful king the nation was on the point of falling into an anarchy; and this anarchy would in all probability have ended in a new tyranny, that never would have been established without a civil war, and a great deal of bloodshed. It was this alarming prospect that made the most moderate among the republican party wish for the king's restoration, as far the less evil of the two: which happened the following year 1660.

Happily for the friends of monarchy, the commonwealth party committed a great error from the first beginning of their rebellion, in fixing the foundation of their intended republic in the lower house alone.

It was impossible for them to prevent there being a number of noblemen of power and interest in the kingdom; and so long as there was not an equivalent given them for their right of peerage to constitute the upper house, they might be assured, that they would always covet that government under which they enjoyed so flattering a distinction above the rest of their countrymen.

The Bishops, who still retained their influence over those of the episcopal persuasion, could not without regret see themselves deprived of their seats in parliament. Both justice and reason required

that the peers, who had a right by birth of representing their respective counties, should have taken their seats according to the rank of the counties; and that there should have been chosen from the body of peers such as were the best citizens, and of the most distinguished capacity, to preside at the several committees. In a word, they ought to have been made amends for the dissolution of the upper house, by being incorporated with distinguished privileges into that house which was continued.

I know the Republicans were led into this mistake by their animosity to most of the nobility, who had taken all occasions of thwarting them: but as they found they could not destroy them, it was their business to conciliate them by interest to the new government, by indemnifying them for the rank they had lost: whereas by giving them no equivalent, they left a powerful party against themselves in the state; a party that would always subsist, and be ready on the first occasion to revive the ancient monarchy.

Hatred and anger frequently prevent us from perceiving such measures as are right, and even absolutely necessary; and the faults that these two passions make us commit are as frequently irreparable.

It may even be said, that Cromwell would have had such a respect for a parliament filled with
nobles

nobles, that he would never have dared to shew such a contempt for that assembly, nor to have proceeded to such outrage against it as he did.

Monk had at his leisure seen too nearly into the divisions that disturbed the parliament, to stand in awe of its power: but then on the other hand, he saw that this parliament would be sufficiently powerful, in conjunction with the city of London and the other generals, to prevent him from usurping the sovereign authority, and succeeding Cromwell in the seat of power.

He saw plainly, that the parliament would always look upon him as a formidable subject, and that his great authority could not last long with those who had so strong an anti-monarchical turn. Therefore, like a wise man, he resolved to make a merit with Charles II. who was then an exile from his kingdom, of reseating him on his throne: but to succeed it was necessary to keep his design a profound secret, till he found affairs disposed to favour his project. Accordingly, he appeared constantly employed in methods to support the commonwealth government. But under the pretence of enlarging the liberties of the nation, he introduced into the house a number of members whom he knew to be well inclined to monarchical government, and continued this, till he found they were become the most numerous party.

As the æra of the restoration of the family of Stuart to the throne of England is of consequence to history, and was the result of what I have just been relating, I shall continue the thread of the narration, though it did not actually take place till the following year 1660; after which I shall return to the affairs of France.

Charles I. son to James I. of the name of Stuart, succeeded the king his father in 1623. The desire of governing arbitrarily an headstrong people had taken possession of his mind, not only from the natural propensity we all have to enlarge our power, and overcome all resistance to our wills, but he was likewise incited thereto by the advice of the duke of Buckingham his minister and favourite, a most turbulent spirit, and one who could still less brook any kind of resistance than his master.

Charles attempted to raise subsidies without the authority of his parliament, who opposed him in it. The king dissolved the parliament: but this latter finding the liberty of the nation at stake, would not hold themselves for dissolved, and continued to sit in spite of the king. Thus there were two parties formed in the nation, and each had recourse to arms for its support.

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The parliament's forces which were more numerous and better paid than the king's, beat these latter in several battles, and at length the king himself was taken prisoner, and had his head cut off in 1648, and the royal family were obliged to leave the kingdom.

Cromwell the victorious general, declared Protector, and invested with a greater authority than had ever been possessed by the late king, had governed the nation ten or eleven years, and those who had the chief share in the government next to himself, bearing a mortal hatred to despotic power, and fearing the vengeance of Charles II. vehemently opposed that monarch's return. But the majority of the nation began heartily to despise the old parliament, and to dread another civil war. Such was the situation of things when Monk perceived it, and knew perfectly well how to make the most of it both for his own private interest, and that of his king and country.

Monk, who was the parliament's general had not hitherto held the least correspondence with any one of the king's party; but as he placed a great confidence in William Morrice, a rich gentleman of Devonshire, he imparted to him his design of restoring peace and safety to the nation by restoring the king; but insisted upon the strongest assurances from his majesty that he would com-

comply with the following conditions: First, To grant a general pardon. Secondly, To allow the free exercise of religion. Thirdly, To ensure the possession of confiscated estates to the purchasers. Fourthly, To govern in a mild and moderate manner.

For this purpose the king was to write to the parliament, to general Monk, to the nobility, and to the city of London. A declaration was to be published of such a nature as to secure to every one the possession of their goods and fortunes, a general liberty of conscience and free parliaments. Morrice, a man of a good understanding, presently entered into the general's meaning.

The business was now to pitch upon a messenger, one whom the king knew to be of his party, and a person of discretion. Morrice cast his eyes on Sir John Greenville, a friend of his, and of Mordaunt afterwards earl of Peterborough, who corresponded with the king. Greenville had accordingly several conferences with Morrice; he had likewise two private ones with Monk, and then set out with Mordaunt, about the beginning of April 1660, for Brussels where the king at that time resided.

He had orders to tell the king, that for the greater security of his person and the success of this negotiation,

negociation, it was absolutely necessary for him to withdraw himself privately from Flanders, and retire to Breda in Holland.

The king, who had for some time received only disagreeable news from England, was highly pleased with the message brought him by Greenville, and did not hesitate an instant to leave the Spanish dominions. He had the necessary letters and the declaration drawn up by his chief minister and counsellor Hyde, afterwards earl of Clarendon, and under pretence of making a visit to his sister the princess of Orange at Breda, and staying a day or two with her, he retired to that place, and there took up his residence.

The marquis of Caracena, at that time governor of the Low Countries, knew nothing of Greenville and Mordaunt's journey; they had remained concealed in Brussels, and saw the king only by night in Hyde's apartment, who acted as the king's chancellor: nevertheless, the marquis had some suspicion that the king had a design of quitting Flanders, and accordingly took his measures to prevent him.

He ordered a party of horse to be ready, which under pretence of attending the king as a guard of honour was to hinder him from leaving Brussels. The guard had not orders to be ready at his majesty's apartment till the next morning at
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nine o'clock, but the king having had notice given him of the marquis's design set out with only two persons by three o'clock; so that when the guard came they found he had been gone six hours before: and all the king's dispatches were put into the hands of Sir John Greenville, and dated from Breda; with copies that Monk might know what they contained.

Monk received these dispatches a few days afterwards by the hands of Greenville himself, and was a week without taking the least notice of it to any one, but seeing the dispositions of minds in parliament favourable to his design, he took his seat in the house the 20th of April as a member for one of the counties, and standing up, said with a loud voice, that a gentleman called Sir John Greenville, a domestic of the king's, had brought him a letter from his majesty; which he produced, telling them at the same time, that he had not been willing to open it without the permission of parliament, and that the same gentleman had another for the house.

Immediately the members with one voice called out to have him brought in Upon which he was conducted to the bar of the house, where he told them, that he came from Breda, where the king his master then was, who had commanded him to deliver a letter from him to the house, which letter he was ready to deliver as soon as the

the house should please to command him. Then the serjeant was ordered to take it, which he did, and delivered it to the speaker, and Greenville retired.

The house ordered the letter directed to the general to be read, and next that which was directed to the house; both of which met with general approbation: and the king's declaration being in the same packet, they called for it with the greatest eagerness; and now a dead silence reigned in the house, when at every article there succeeded a shout of applause. And indeed the articles, wherein the king promised to govern according to the laws of the realm, and maintain the rights of his subjects: to pass an act of indemnity and pardon: to indulge scrupulous consciences in matters of religion: and to secure those who had purchased estates confiscated by parliament in the possession of them * were expressed in the most clear and explicit terms: and his majesty moreover declared, that he intended to make no exceptions but such as his parliament should think proper to advise him to in regard to justice and equity, and the better preservation of good order and tranquility in the kingdom.

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* The king did not absolutely guarantee this possession to the purchasers, but left to the examination of parliament, the claims of those officers, soldiers and others, who possessed lands to, which their titles might be disputed.

When I say, that the applause the king's letters and declaration met with was general; I mean that the few who were of a different opinion, finding the torrent running so strong and rapidly against them, dared not make any shew of resistance: accordingly the declaration was no sooner read than a committee was appointed to draw up a letter in answer to that from the king, expressing the lively and grateful sense the parliament had of the gracious and obliging offers his majesty had been pleased to make them. At the same time the house gave orders for printing the king's two letters and declaration together with the resolution of the house.

As soon as the peers had learnt the resolution of the house of commons, and how chearfully they had entered into it, they assembled of themselves in their old house, when Sir John Greenville presented them with the king's letter, which had been written in case they should meet. After reading the letter they came to a resolution to answer it with all possible expressions of loyalty, gratitude and submission.

The army, the navy, and the city of London, who were all equally delighted with the marks of confidence, goodness and clemency which appeared in the letter that his majesty had caused to be written to each of them separately, vied with one another

another in their addresses congratulating his majesty on his restoration, and vowing inviolable fidelity.

And now there was nothing to be heard in the streets but shouts of, God save the king, and wishes for his speedy return. So sudden was this favourable change that it surpassed the warmest hopes of those the most attached to his majesty's cause, or the most given to believe in extraordinary events. The two houses charged Sir John Greenville with their answers to the king, and ordered him a present of five hundred pounds sterling to defray the expences of his journey, and to buy a ring which he was to wear as long as he lived. This gentleman's joy was so much the greater as he had been confined for upwards of ten years in prison, for no other crime than his attachment to his royal master, and was now the joyful messenger of the nation's wishes for his restoration.

The king was now proclaimed lawful sovereign of the three kingdoms, with the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon, and the streets were full of bonfires, illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy.

Before the delivery of his majesty's letter to the parliament, a report had privately prevailed, that the king would quickly be restored; upon which a great number of rich citizens carried over large

large sums to his majesty at Breda, which were of particular service to him at that time in discharging the debts he had contracted during his residence in Flanders, and restored joy and satisfaction to his little court, which had been a long time obliged to subsist upon what they could borrow. At length, the king received the glad tidings of the happy effects which his letters and declaration had wrought in the minds of the people. The Dutch now made him a thousand offers of service and paid him all possible honours. He repaired to the Hague, where the deputies from the two houses were waiting with the fleet to conduct him to his capital; where he arrived in safety with the two princes his brothers, the 29th of May 1660, amidst the shouts and acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, and to the universal joy of the whole nation.

Six weeks before, the king's affairs seemed wholly desperate; and even Noailles, who was then our ambassador at London, though a man of great abilities and penetration, was the dupe of appearances; he could not see what Monk alone saw, and what that artful politician kept a profound secret from every one. But when the true state of affairs came afterwards to be known; the distractions of the commonwealth party; how much the people were wearied out with such a fickle and unsettled government; that Monk despaired of being able to procure the supreme authority, or to support

support himself in it, as Cromwell had done; that the army longed for nothing so much as to have a king alone to depend on; that the parliament was fallen into the lowest degree of contempt with the whole nation by its intestine divisions, and the virulence with which the members mutually bespattered each others characters; together with the continual efforts of the nobility and bishops to render contemptible a set of people who had endeavoured to deprive them of all their honours and privileges; and lastly, the pacific disposition of the king, and his great clemency towards those who had been in rebellion against him; all this I say will shew us, that this great revolution, which at that time appeared so wonderful and even miraculous, was so in effect to those only who were ignorant of its secret causes; for when we consider them nearly, the event was so far from being miraculous, that it was in a manner impossible not to have happened at such a conjuncture: the causes which produced it were entirely simple and natural, and such as according to the common course of providence could not fail of instantly producing their effect.

And now to return to the affairs of France.

In 1657 cardinal Mazarin, fearing that if the war between Sweden and Denmark should continue, France, and consequently the other powers of Europe would be obliged to take one side, and
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by that means light up the war afresh, proposed his master's good offices towards bringing about an accommodation, which were accordingly accepted of by the two monarchs.

The king of Denmark on his side was apprehensive, that if he refused it, it would be daring the king of France to side with the Swede, considering that France was at that time at peace with its neighbours, and could afford the most powerful succours to its ally which would at once decide the dispute in his favour: and Sweden on the other hand could not have made choice of a mediator more inclinable to do him justice, on account of the alliance that had subsisted for upwards of thirty years between the two courts.

It is always the interests of princes to prevent neighbouring powers from going to war with each other. Therefore reason and good policy will always teach the pacific powers of Europe to use all their endeavours to stifle a war in the beginning; not only in Europe, but also in the other two continents of Asia and America, that they may never have cause to fear forces better trained to arms than their own.

I allow that princes, who have engaged in and carried on a long war, have their revenues thrown into disorder by it, and are in that respect rendered inferior in power to those potentates who have
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not such expences to drain them; but it must be granted me likewise, that the superiority of courage and discipline in the troops is of much greater consequence than the superiority in point of revenue. Alexander with his thirty thousand poor but well-disciplined Macedonians, quickly gained the advantage over Darius with six times the number of rich, but raw and undisciplined troops.

1660.

There had been frequent insurrections at Marseilles; and the inhabitants of that opulent city, under pretence of some ancient privileges, frequently refused to pay the subsidies that all the other cities chearfully subjected themselves to for the good of the state. These repeated oppositions determined the court to build a citadel to keep the citizens within the bounds of duty. This obliged the king to take a journey into Provence: he ordered part of the walls of Marseilles to be beaten down, and left them open till the citadel was in a condition of defence, and six thousand men were actually employed on the works.

Cities should as well as private persons be sometimes rewarded for occasional services; but by occasional pensions or gratifications given to the principal promoters of such services, and not by per-

petual privileges, which carry with them exceptions to the general rule of government. Such privileges and exceptions always occasion a number of difficulties and law-suits with the farmers of the king's dues, for under the sanction of a privilege the king is often defrauded of his rights: and it is hardly credible, what a deal of trouble all exceptions give to the minister; and how much simplicity and uniformity conduce to the easier and better governing of the state.

The king, after having visited several provinces of his kingdom, came at length to Bayonne; while king Philip IV. on his side, with the infanta his daughter, repaired to St. Sebastian. The two kings had their interview in the isle of Pheasants.

Lewis, on his first visit to the king of Spain, was desirous of being for a while confounded with the rest of the courtiers, to see if the king, and the infanta who had seen his picture at Madrid, would distinguish him from the crowd: but his majestic stature and graceful air soon discovered him; and indeed he was one of the best made and most agreeable looking men in his kingdom.

As the king was introducing the principal persons of his court by name to the king of Spain, that monarch said to him with some impatience, *Where is the man who has made me pass so many disagreeable nights? Where is the vicomte of Turenne?* He was behind

behind the crowd of courtiers, but Philip made him come forward, and caressed him greatly during the interview.

The queen-mother was overjoyed at seeing her brother again, after an absence of five and forty years, the time she had been in France. Every thing passed with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The marriage-ceremony, which had been performed at Fontarabia by proxy six days before, was confirmed the 9th of June by the bishop of Bayonne at St. Jean de Luz, and the king and his new queen set out on their return to Paris, into which city they made a magnificent entry on the 26th of August following.

This year died a prince who for the five or six years that he reigned made a great noise in the world; but without acquiring any desirable reputation either among his own subjects or his neighbours. This was Charles Gustavus, or Charles X. of Sweden of the protestant branch of the Palatine house. His mother was sister to Gustavus Adolphus; consequently he was cousin germain to the famous Christina queen of Sweden who was daughter to the great Gustavus. Charles was but four or five years older than this princess, and had thoughts of marrying her, but as she had declared against marriage, she contented herself with appointing him her successor, and at last abdicated the crown in his favour in the year 1654.

Every one lays down a plan of happiness agreeable to his own capacity and share of prudence ; and this frequently changes with the taste, or as the person acquires more knowledge and wisdom by age and experience. Charles was eleven years of age when his uncle Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the battle of Lutzen in 1632 ; and as those who had the care of his education, entertained him with little else than the great reputation Gustavus had acquired by his military exploits ; he thought of nothing from his earliest youth, but how to acquire an equal reputation by the same means, should he ever come to the possession of the crown of Sweden.

As he was barely twenty two years of age when he came to that crown, he had not made sufficient allowances for that kind of reputation which a man raises to himself by arms : this was in effect a reputation he could not think of acquiring, but by loading his subjects with taxes, making himself hated by his neighbours, and passing for a scourge sent from heaven upon all those provinces which he ransacked and laid waste during the course of his conquests ; and by neglecting to provide against the disorders and oppressions committed in a state : and what man in his senses will look upon such a kind of glory as distinguishing or desirable ?

While he had success in Poland, he made the Dutch his enemies ; who began to be in fear of having

having him for a neighbour: the neighbouring states who were then in alliance with him, would soon have become his enemies had his success continued: and how was he to make head against them all? This is sufficient to prove, that he aimed at impossibilities: and indeed his successes were almost always chequered with disgraces, till at length his generals being defeated, he fell into a despondency, that threw him into watchings and a continual fever which carried him off in February 1660.

His great courage would have been a commendable qualification in him, had he employed it in assisting his distressed neighbours; but it was quite the reverse when made use of to oppress them still more. Could he have remained contented with his own possessions, he was in a condition to have interposed his mediation with the Czar, to prevent him from undertaking any thing unjust or oppressive against Poland, or the dutchy of Courland; and he would then have been the object of general praise, for having exerted his courage and strength to maintain peace, and oblige the powerful to do justice to the weak.

But the whole distinction he could procure amongst his brother kings was confined to saying of him, that he was a neighbour equally to be feared and hated; that he was born to be always a stranger to peace himself, and to rob every one else of it: a distinction that cost him a great

quantity of blood and treasure, and was in itself very little worthy of envy.

He was possessed of excellent military talents, and a great share of courage; but as he made use of these to disturb the happiness of society, they were so far from procuring him a true or valuable glory, that they only served to render him more hateful and formidable.

He underwent during his reign as much trouble and fatigue, as might have sufficed to gain him a reputation worthy of envy; but unhappily he had not sufficient discernment to make the necessary difference between a good and a bad reputation; which is a common error amongst those, who by being wrongly educated are strangers to a virtuous ambition, and aim at nothing but making themselves powerful and feared. Kings may become the objects of universal hatred and distrust by the wrongs they commit, and gain nothing by all their toil, but a noisy reputation that is at the bottom vile and detestable.

This same month of February died at Blois, John-Baptist Gaston, prince of France, brother to Lewis XIII. Tho' he was not a bad man, he himself caused a number of ills to his country, by being the occasion of all the troubles and civil wars that disturbed the minority of his nephew Lewis XIV. His servants and creatures, who had nothing in
view

view but their own private interests, had too great an ascendancy over his mind: he had but one part to chuse, which was that of conforming strictly to the will of the queen, and the advice of the prime minister in maintaining the public tranquillity; at the same time reserving a right of giving his reasons with authority for such measures as he thought preferable to those pursued by the minister. But he wanted a proper resolution to withstand the importunities of his servants; to let them know that the public peace was of more consequence than their private advancement; and to convince them that he would adopt no councils, but such as experience had demonstrated to be successful.

He had but very little credit even with his own people; whereas by keeping himself united with the queen and prime minister, he would have acquired a much greater degree of esteem and consideration both in public and private; but he wanted either less understanding to prevent him from meddling at all with the government, or both more understanding and more application to enable him to engage in it with success.

By the frivolous hopes and false alarms that the abbé de la Riviere, a man of low birth and correspondent sentiments, and some others of his favourites knew how to inspire him with, he was perpetually betrayed and sold by them just as they pleased; and this was the principal cause of that

sickleness for which he was so much despised: the more elevated the station, the more steady and resolute should be the conduct.

There are three ways of acquiring a steady and resolute conduct. 1. To determine nothing to-day that may be deferred till to-morrow. 2. Always to determine peremptorily after having heard what both parties have to alledge in defence of their different opinions. 3. And which I think the most certain in difficult and important matters, to commit to writing a short extract of the reasons pro and con, to have them all before one's eyes, so as to be able to compare them at leisure and weigh their merits against each other: in short, we should adopt the practice of those who would report well in a court of judicature.

But all these precautions are not to be expected from light and superficial minds, who from a faulty education have never acquired an application to business, nor ever make justice and the public good the object of their designs. They seem born to be children all their lives: and what can be expected from over-grown children, but a childish conduct?

This year put the finishing stroke to the disgraces of the famous Ragotski, prince of Transilvania, who died fighting sword in hand against the Turks. He was too weak to resist the Turkish

kish power, and too proud to depend upon the court of Vienna. He committed a fault in not abating somewhat of his pride, and entering into an alliance with the Emperor; and the Emperor on his side as well as the Poles committed a still greater in not defending him against his will from the Turk, as the chief and best barrier they had against the common enemy.

In any other situation, his great pride and valour would have helped him to make a figure in Europe; but in the condition his affairs were in, they only served to cool his allies, and hasten the ruin and subversion of his house and fortune. Courage to be a virtue should never make us lose sight of prudence: the valiant should always know when to fear, and not build wholly upon their own courage, when there is just cause of apprehension from the prodigious superiority of an enemy. It may be said, that if this prince intended to maintain himself in the midst of so many powerful neighbours, he had much better have adopted maxims of prudence and patience than have given so many proofs of an impetuous courage.

Defensive leagues are absolutely necessary for those princes in particular whose dominions are the most exposed; but then to form and maintain them requires a mildness and pliancy of temper, unknown to those hot impetuous spirits who
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are formed rather to command success in the field than in the cabinet. In short, this prince was ignorant of those maxims that belonged to his station.

1661.

The 9th of March 1661, died at Vincennes cardinal Mazarin at upwards of fifty-eight years of age. Cardinal Richelieu lived nearly the same number of years. They had governed France successively as prime ministers, each of them nearly eighteen years, with much the same kind of authority that the grand vizirs exercise among the Turks. Both were ambitious; Mazarin was fearful, more designing, more subtle, pliant and unsteady: Richelieu was more resolute, more warm, had greater parts, was more obstinate, and more fixed.

Mazarin's genius for business was more limited; he was better acquainted with the foibles of mankind, and knew well how to keep them in suspense. Richelieu with more extensive talents was better versed in business, and maintained his power by awing some, and amusing others with hopes.

Mazarin had a greater knack at speaking, and was more happily formed to please the ladies: Richelieu would much sooner gain the confidence of a man; and he persuaded more by deeds than words.

Mazarin

Mazarin as well as Richelieu, died without leaving behind him any relations of his own name: both guided by a meanness of thinking heaped up riches that their names might survive with lustre after their deaths, and they left great estates behind them to the heirs they chose, to induce them to bear their name. But neither of them reflected that the histories of nations are the truest preservatives of the names of prime ministers; and that here those shine out with the greatest splendor, who have known how to govern with disinterested resolution; and who through a strict attention to encreasing the good of their country have neglected the private advantage of their families.

Mazarin was half as rich again as his predecessor, and left his heirs nearly double the income. Every thing in his hands was venal; he accumulated benefice upon benefice; gift upon gift; government upon government; treasure upon treasure. In the castle of Vincennes alone, of which he was governor, were found eight millions of livres * in gold, which the king seized upon after his death, and I think with great justice, considering the manner in which they were amassed.

Besides

* Nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Besides all this wealth, he left Mr. Mazarin his heir, whose family name was La Porte, upwards of eighty thousand ounces of silver * a-year in large and noble land estates.

Both these ministers unhappily for us and for themselves preferred the low and sordid distinction that riches and honours bestow, to that inestimable one which every wise man would desire, and that consists in leaving their names blessed by posterity for the good they have done their country during their lives : whereas with all their riches they left their names rather hated than beloved, and more despised than valued ; and acted in such a manner, that the services they really did the nation were attributed only to an insatiable desire of amassing riches for their own families : which is the end of none but the lowest rank of men, and those base souls who meanly prefer their own private interest to that of their country, and fondly attempt to make their names envied at the expence of honour and virtue. Thus they acquire the blaze of rank and eminence, but not that true lustre which is only to be reflected by real merit ; that lustre which arises from great services, great talents and exalted virtue.

It

* That is, about twenty thousand pounds sterling ; the ounce of silver answering to our crown or five shilling piece.

It is not sufficient to form a great man, that he can raise himself to a post of eminence in the state, unless he carries with him both a noble and exalted soul : a mean man in a high station is much more liable to hatred and contempt than if he had remained in a more humble condition. Ministers should consider that a great genius employed for the service of their country, and a conduct distinguished for its integrity, firmness, justice and beneficence, can alone make them loved and esteemed during their lives, and give a lasting lustre to their memories after death.

Cardinal Mazarin once told the king, that he had it in his power to become the arbitrator of Europe, by keeping himself armed, and declaring against those who should refuse an arbitration ; and that by these means he might have the glory either of preserving Europe in peace, or of putting a speedy end to any war that should be begun ; but unfortunately he did not sufficiently repeat and insist upon these precepts, nor support them with such reasons and examples as were proper to imprint them on the mind of his prince ; he did not begin to inspire him with them in the earlier parts of his education : so that the young courtiers and favourites, who were actuated by a mean ambition, and supported by Le Tellier and his son Louvois, the secretary of war, were constantly inspiring him by the most artful discourses with a de-
fire

fire of extending his dominions at the expence of his neighbours; a desire in itself unjust, and which proved the source of all his subsequent misfortunes and our calamities: for it so happened, that our conquests cost us ten times their real value, without reckoning the men we lost, the ravages our country suffered, the detriment occasioned by the frequent interruption to our trade, and the immense supplies that drained us of our money; the neglects in many essential parts of government, which if properly attended to might with a very little expence have procured us great advantages; or the hatred and curses of all our neighbours, which our unjust and oppressive wars brought on us.

Both our prime ministers passed their lives in a continual state of agitation; what cruel inquietudes did they not suffer to maintain themselves in a place that they acquired by the greatest pains and artifice? we seldom see a virtuous man so violent and zealous for the public good, as to purchase the place of prime minister at the expence of all those troubles and fatigues, that sordid ambition submits to. It is somewhat unaccountable that these people can pass whole days in servile flatteries, base compliance, private slander, and a train of actions equally mean and dishonourable, because they know the dispositions of princes and great men to be in general such, that it is necessary to put these base acts in practice to attain any posts

posts of trust and distinction under them: and where is the honest man who would purchase them at this price?

The disgrace of Fouquet, superintendant of the finances followed close upon the death of cardinal Mazarin. He was a gentleman of the province of Brittany, of an affluent fortune, having sold the place of procurator-general of the parliament of Paris, that he had held for some years, for five hundred thousand crowns. He was for blending pleasure with business, and the minister with the fine gentleman; he loved shew, and had a dislike to much trouble, but in other respects incapable of disaffection to his prince, or embezzlement of the public treasure, crimes which were unjustly laid to his charge in order to ruin him. He died in prison at Pignerol near twenty years afterwards.

Colbert, did not succeed to the title of superintendant, but under the name of comptroller general of the finances; he possessed all the authority of the other. The superintendant signed all the warrants and issues of expence; but when that office was suppressed, the king himself signed them, but always as they were brought to him by Colbert, so that the king performed the outward functions of superintendant while all the business went through Colbert's hands, without his being obliged to account for any expences that had been signed by the king.

Cardinal

Cardinal Mazarin had some time before his death, given the king a dislike to Fouquet, frequently extolling to him at the same time the great skill and indefatigable application of Colbert, who had the management of the cardinal's affairs.

As it was the interest of the ministers of the several departments to act immediately by the king's orders, without having any one principal minister at their head; and being afraid that Fouquet would soon gain the ascendancy, they unanimously joined in contributing to his disgrace: they hinted to the king, that it would be more for his honour to take the management of affairs upon himself. In this they spoke the truth; but it was not so much to enhance their master's glory, as to add to their own authority, that they thus joined their endeavours in persuading him to take upon himself the functions of prime minister.

Colbert erected an office for the reformation of the abuses that had crept into the management of the finances; and those officers of the revenue that had gained exorbitant sums by their contracts were obliged to refund largely to the king. This money was of singular service to him in paying off the greatest part of the national debt.

These

These abuses were in a great measure owing to the ill management of the revenue, during the ministry of cardinal Mazarin. It is certain, that many of them may be attributed to the superintendants, who had the immediate management of them; but still more so to the prime minister who connived at them.

Though Colbert was exact, vigilant and knowing in the management of affairs, yet the people of business were considerable gainers under his ministry, and without any disadvantage to the state at the same time; for the farmers of the revenues should always gain something, though not to an extravagant degree. Accordingly we see that at the death of this minister in 1683, there was no bed of justice held, which is one of the greatest eulogiums that can be made upon a minister of the revenue.

1662.

This year the king had two disagreeable affairs brought upon his hands by two of his ambassadors, the one at London, the other at Rome; and each of them endeavoured to exasperate the king's mind in such a manner by their representations, that it was no thanks to them that the whole nation was not involved in the greatest uneasiness for a mere trifle.

Watteville of Franche Comté, who was then ambassador from the court of Spain at London; having sent his coach before that of the ambassador of Sweden at a public entry, ordered his people to manage so as to get the place of honour in the procession before the coach of the French ambassador likewise.

The coachman of our ambassador, the count d'Estrades, afterwards marshal of France, was beaten, and his horses traces cut by Watteville's people. The whole damage might be about one hundred franks; for the king of France was neither less respected, less feared, nor less valued by foreigners, for the folly of Watteville and his coachman.

But if Watteville was a madman, and d'Estrades affronted, must it cost the nation a hundred millions and thirty thousand men their lives, to pacify the count d'Estrades, and mend his horses harness?

I own it is vexatious to have one's coachman beat, and the horses traces cut by a fool's order; but the misfortune is very trifling: and a compliment of excuse from the king of Spain ought and might have easily repaired it, as it did at length. But even supposing the king of Spain on his side had been weak enough to refuse giving this satisfaction

faction, was that a reason for the king of France to be unjust enough to chuse rather to make his subjects suffer all the evils of a long war than to pass over a compliment? yet such is the wholesome counsel of a childish and mean anger.

Happily the king of Spain, being the most prudent and the least powerful, gave orders to his ambassadors, that for the future they should never dispute precedence with the ambassadors of France; and so a stop was put to this grand and mighty affair by a few civil speeches.

The other affair was between the duke de Crequi and the pope's guards called the Corsi, in consequence of some haughty airs that the duke had been ordered to assume with the Chiggi, who were relations and ministers of the pope, Alexander VII. and who had on their parts sought all opportunities of mortifying France, by behaving in the most insolent manner to its ambassador. They were fools in the first place to endeavour to insult our nation, but I cannot say it was much wiser in our council to order the duke de Crequi to mortify them in every thing.

These little personal bickerings are meanneſſes even between private people, and a childish way of proceeding. But a wise and virtuous prince will always act without regard to the folly or ill behaviour of his neighbours, and continually preserve

an uniformity of conduct for the real good of his people, by not appearing to take notice of the extravagance of others.

The pope and his nephews had the mortification two years afterwards of being obliged to make the greatest concessions to the king; a mortification the more shameful as they might easily have prevented it in the beginning, by shewing a laudable patience, that would have suited much better with the character and station of the pope. The master, who gives up his servants when in a fault, gives the strongest proofs of his not being in fault himself.

If we compute what it cost the king and the nation to have the pope send a few compliments and submissions in his name to Paris, we shall find that it was purchasing them at twenty times their value; for the king was obliged to send an army into Italy, under the command of marshal Bellfond, at that time lieutenant-general. At length this silly affair ended in a treaty at Pifa, in which the pope obliged himself to make his compliments and excuses; for who paid the troops all this while? was it not the people, who were taxed higher on the occasion?

This year France concluded a treaty with the republic of Holland, by which the two powers promised mutually to assist each other in *defending* themselves

themselves against whomsoever should attack them : at the same time several articles were agreed on relating to trade ; but this treaty did not last long.

Treaties that either party may break with impunity can never be permanent ; because their real or apparent interests are quickly liable to a change, which makes a change in the inclination of one or other of the parties.

How comes it that contracts between two families of the same town are constant and lasting ? because neither can break them with impunity. The law, the magistrates forbid it, and the state support these in the execution of their decrees when there is a necessity for it ; and though a person might be tempted to resist the magistrate's decree, yet he does not give way to such a design, because he evidently sees the attempt would be vain, and that his resistance would only double or treble his present ill : but till the powers of Europe can agree among themselves upon forming the European diet, to enforce the observation of treaties, and prevent their being broke with impunity, and to maintain each other in the actual possession of their rights ; they must never hope to see any durable leagues whether offensive or defensive.

Sometimes we see one or more sovereign powers enter into a treaty as guarantees, and promise faithfully to secure the observance of those treaties where they are the mediators, but these are only promises; for who can oblige these powers to keep their words?

This winter we had a violent dearth which was severely felt till the ensuing harvest, on which account the king was greatly blamed for expending large sums of money on a magnificent feast; and in fact, though the money spent by each person at this feast might not perhaps have been laid out for the relief of the poor who were perishing with hunger; yet it ill became a king to give public feasts, and encourage a superfluous expence in a time of general misery, and while the streets and high roads were covered with unhappy wretches fainting and dying for want of a morsel of bread.

Now we are speaking of a dearth, I remember to have seen four in France within the space of sixty-four years, each of which cost the state upwards of two hundred thousand souls extraordinary, taking the one with the other; for some were less severe than others.

And here I must observe, that I once saw a parcel of corn that had been collected in a magazine at Metz, during the siege of that city by Charles V.

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in 1552; it was in a long granary, and was about eight foot in height. A crust was formed on the upper part of it nearly a foot thick; and so hard that it was forced to be broken with an ax: this crust had prevented the air from coming to the rest of the corn, and had preserved it perfectly sound. I ate of bread made with it which was good and well tasted, though upwards of one hundred and fifty years afterwards. This inspired me with a notion that in a plentiful year, there might in every city and town be made large commodious vaults free from all damp to serve as public granaries, and to be filled in times of plenty: but previous to this there must be a number of experiments made for effectually securing the corn against the external air.

The king made this year sixty new knights of the Holy Ghost, to compleat the number of one hundred. The outward badges of distinction ought to be different, and suited to the different classes of public employs. The marshals of France should have a badge on their coat different from that of the lieutenant-general: now such badges would occasion a greater emulation in serving the state, if the king was always to have one of three chosen by scrutiny from the lower class to fill up the vacancy in the upper class.

A prince would thus conciliate the affections of all his subjects, by conforming himself in the distribution

distribution of honours and favours to the judgment of thirty of the most discerning men among those of an equal rank; whereas by not following this method of scrutiny, he creates himself twenty discontented minds for one that he satisfies, and thus makes himself much more hated than loved. Now an institution that makes the author of it twenty times more hated and despised, than esteemed or loved, and at the same time is of no real service to the state, has certainly something of madness in it.

There should likewise be a mark of distinction in the dress of the princes and princesses of the blood, and on the coats of the principal officers of state. The gentry should also have their particular badge instead of a sword which is no mark of distinction for them. All these old institutions are so many remains of the first childish ages of human reason.

1663.

The count d'Estrades, a man well-versed in negotiations, purchased Dunkirk of the king of England for the consideration of five millions of livres, at twenty-eight livres to the mark*. The Dutch endeavoured all in their power to hinder this sale; but this skilful negociator took a journey to Holland,

* Or, four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

land, and found means effectually to appease them. He even brought them to sign a new treaty, by which they engaged to guarantee this acquisition, on consideration that the king would on his side promise to furnish them with succours against the English, and the bishop of Munster, with whom they were on the point of declaring war.

It would seem at first to be buying a place very dear, whose fortifications and garrisons must cost three times more than it can bring in; but if the king had resolved to have it by force, it would have cost him ten, nay twenty times as much, and not have been sure of succeeding at last: and with respect to the garrison, it cost him little or nothing, since he had only to send a part of the garrisons that were in the former frontier towns to Dunkirk, which was now become a new frontier.

The king of England made a bold step in selling Dunkirk; but he persuaded his people that the place cost them much more than it brought them in; that they could not think of keeping it long; and that he would apply the sum raised by the sale of it to paying off his debts. He then sent the garrison to take possession of Tangier, that the king of Portugal had yielded to him in dowry with the infanta his daughter, whom he had lately espoused.

Our king had promised the king of Spain his father-in-law, that he would neither directly nor indirectly give any assistance to the Portuguese, whom the Spanish government looked upon as rebels, and whose revolt had continued for upwards of three and twenty years: but as it was far from being his real intention to abandon the king of Portugal entirely, he still supplied him with men and money; and this year he suffered the viscount of Turenne, who was a relation of that prince's, to raise troops in France, and transport them to Portugal, under the command of count Schomberg, afterwards marshal of France, who obliged Spain five years afterwards to acknowledge the king of Portugal for a lawful and independent sovereign, and to conclude a peace, after a war that had lasted near thirty years.

It is certain, that by this indirect manner of assisting the Portuguese, the king was wanting to his engagements with Spain in the Pyrenean treaty, by which he promised to give no assistance, either directly or indirectly to the king of Portugal. The king could not but know very well that himself was to pay the troops that were sent into Portugal, and find them both in ammunition and pay; but he thought it was sufficient to conceal it under the name of M. Turenne.

This

This infraction of the treaty was a secret to no one; but the king alledged for his excuse, that the emperor Ferdinand, notwithstanding his engaging at the treaty of Munster in 1648, not to give any succours directly or indirectly to the king of Spain, had nevertheless contrived to supply him secretly with both men and money.

These examples prove, that no engagements entered into by princes against their interests can be solid, if once they can break them with impunity; and this they will always be able to do, so long as there is no treaty subsisting between all the powers of Europe to guarantee the execution of other treaties, and to settle an adequate and certain punishment for whatever power shall resist the general decree or judgment of the sovereign powers who are arbitrators and guarantees; and who for this purpose should always have a fixed assembly of their plenipotentiaries in some neutral town, where they might sit for the discussion of the reciprocal demands between prince and prince.

This year the thirteen Swiss Cantons sent nine and thirty deputies or ambassadors to Paris; that is to say, three for each canton, to renew their alliance with France. The articles were drawn up upon the basis of the former, and in three conferences every thing was adjusted. This alliance has now lasted ever since the reign of Francis I. in 1517.

We

We never yet had so long an alliance with any neighbouring state, nor do I think that ever one subsisted so long between any two neighbours in the world: the reason is, that they get our money, and we get their men; the one half of their officers and private soldiers settle among us, and the other half carry our money to them: it secures them likewise our protection against the emperor, and the rest of their neighbours. They are not looked upon as the most sensible people in Europe, and yet they are better governed than the people the most famed for their wisdom. The prudent Venetians, with all their abilities, have been continually dwindling away for the last two hundred years, while the Swiss, with their plain sense, have been always adding to their consideration, safety and revenues. They have nothing to fear but from divisions amongst themselves in point of religion; and if they can keep clear of such divisions, it is certainly a great proof of a prudent forbearance, and ingenious moderation.

The late Gourville, an officer of the revenue, left behind him memoirs printed in the late regency. This man had the management of the prince of Condé's affairs, and was with that prince at Brussels when he headed the army of Spain against his own country. He says, that he

he was assured by Castel Rodrigues, governor of the Low Countries, that it was proved in the Spanish council, in the year 1663, that Spain, since the time of Charles V. that is within one hundred and fifty years, had expended upwards of one thousand eight hundred seventy-three millions of livres, at twenty-eight livres the mark, to keep the Low Countries, without reckoning the revenues of those countries, which were all consumed there, without the least part being carried into Spain.

If to the above sum we add these revenues, and what it has cost from 1663 to 1715, which was the beginning of the regency, it will be found, that Spain would have gained upwards of nineteen hundred millions, or one hundred millions a-year, by giving up the whole of Flanders and the Low Countries, either to a republic, or some particular prince, when Charles V. went to reside in Spain.

The thing would have been very different, had Charles had either genius or imagination enough to set on foot the scheme of a perpetual peace first thought of by Henry IV. of France, which consists in signing, or causing to be signed, five fundamental articles: for Charles V. and his successors, would in that case have retained the seventeen United Provinces, and the Franche-Comté, from which they might have drawn yearly above fifteen millions clear, which in two hundred years would

would have amounted to three thousand millions.

Such is the great inconvenience of having dominions separated from each other; and it is on this foundation that an Italian author, who lived under the reign of Philip II. in drawing a comparison between the forces of France and Spain, feigned, that he had put France into one scale, and the continent of Spain into the other; and that having added Portugal to this latter, the balance was then in equilibrio; but that having farther added the Seventeen Provinces and the Franche Comté, to the great astonishment of all the spectators, the French scale began to preponderate, and that continuing still to add the Milanese, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the scale of France carried it by a great majority.

This makes me think, that Charles V. would have been the greatest gainer of any of the princes of Europe, in forming this kind of European arbitration to terminate the differences between sovereigns without war; hence we may conclude, that the emperor is actually become less powerful by his newly acquired separate dominions in Italy, unless he can bring about the establishment of the diet of Europe, to assure the princes of Europe in the quiet possession of their dominions; a security ten times more great, and at half the expence that can now be done.

1664.

Colbert, who was at the head of the revenue and trade, seeing in general how much the Dutch and the English had enriched themselves by their maritime commerce, in order to imitate their example, established two companies, the one to trade to the East Indies for spices, coffee, tea, china-ware, gum-lac, cotton, silk, linnen and silk stuffs, &c. the other to the West Indies for sugar, tobacco, dyes, cacao, &c. but the directors on one side for want of the greater part of them residing at the company's port, and a sufficient knowledge of maritime commerce, and especially for want of having a sufficient interest in the profits of the company; and the laborious part of them on the other, being weary of working for a set of idle managers, thinking of nothing but their own private interests, wholly neglected that of the public; so that they suffered these excellent establishments to perish in their infancy.

But Colbert was not so wholly taken up with these great views, as to neglect others of less importance. He saw that the Italians had carried the arts of painting and sculpture to great perfection, by the means of academies, where young beginners had an opportunity of making considerable advances in a short time, and profiting with emulation by the lessons of the best masters. This determined

terminated him to erect a like academy at Paris. This academy holds its meetings at the Old Louvre.

Painting, sculpture, music, poetry, the drama, and architecture, may be proofs of the present wealth of the nation where they flourish, but in no wise prove the probable encrease or duration of the happiness of that nation: they prove the number of idle people, and that the general taste for idleness, is sufficient to encourage and support an useless set of people, who pride themselves upon having a pleasing genius rather than a profitable one; who are desirous of excelling others; but foolishly content themselves with excelling in trifles, in things of little or no real importance to true and lasting happiness.

Not but that these masters take great pains, and produce the nicest and most difficult works, and their performances shew much genius and skill; but it is a pity that so much genius should be thrown away upon works so little conducive to the solid happiness of the community. It is a fault in our government not to propose more useful occupations, in the room of these light and transitory amusements, from which there results no real good, either to poor families or posterity.

What figure does the Italian nation make at present, where these arts are carried to the highest degree

degree of perfection? Are they not almost all beggars, sluggards, coxcombs and cowards, and their time wholly devoted to nonsense and trifles? Such are at present the wretched descendants of the ancient Romans, those cotemporaries of Cato who were worthy of governing the whole world; and capable of rendering the nations they conquered more happy after their subjection than they had been before.

Colbert, who was otherwise a man of infinite labour and application, in neglecting the companies of maritime commerce, to patronize the curious sciences and polite arts, mistook the shadow for the substance; the first of which he gave to his own country, and left the other for the English and the Dutch.

The corsairs of Algiers having made several depredations upon our merchant ships from Marseilles, which greatly deterred our merchants from trading to the Levant, the duke of Beaufort, assisted by the advice of the commander Paul, engaged these pirates, beat them, drove them into their harbours, and even took Gigeri from them, a little place on the Barbary coast, which he obliged them to abandon: but as we could not after all bring them to terms of peace, the expence of this armament cost us twenty times more than it was really worth.

The following year they recommenced their piracies, and to say the truth, they are likely to continue always, at least till such time as the Christian princes, whose dominions border on the Mediterranean, or who carry on a trade there, shall furnish each his contingent to the knights of Malta, who are admirably well situated for scouring that sea of these pirates.

Each of these princes would by this means make good one half of their expences and present losses, and would be without comparison more secure than in making war separately on these corsairs, or in paying them a separate tribute, which is very shameful.

The knights of Malta would on their side gain considerably by their prizes, and procure themselves great consideration in the other three parts of the world. This is the basis of a scheme that was projected by the late commander St. Pierre my brother for totally extirpating these pirates.

The taking of Gigeri was just as ridiculous an undertaking, as if the Algerines should pretend to make a conquest of some small port in Provence or Languedoc, which they were certain of not being able to keep against our will : the expence of keeping Gigeri, would have been twenty times as great as the profit accruing to us from it.

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The Turk, who had the foregoing year taken Neuchatel in Hungary, began now to prepare for new conquests on that side. The emperor demanded succours of France, as a member of the empire, by being in possession of Alsatia. Accordingly the king granted him four thousand foot forces, and two thousand horse, which was four times as much as his contingent. To these troops was owing the victory of St. Godart on the Raab, which victory obliged the Turks to conclude an advantageous peace.

It is an essential fault in a sovereign to suffer the troops of a neighbouring kingdom to be exercised in arms, without exercising his own at the same time; therefore he is obliged to take part in all the wars of the states about him; and by siding with that party which has justice and right in its favour, he will have it in his power to impose an arbitration on such as will not listen to terms of accommodation. It is equally his interest and his duty to prevent any one power from extending his territories, and consequently can secure every one in the possession of his own.

As such a plan of conduct is strictly agreeable to reason and justice, he should declare it in a public manner to his neighbours; which will deter hot-headed princes from flying to arms upon every occasion, as they will be sure of being all the

expende of the war out of pocket, besides the damage done to their frontiers, and the detriment they must suffer from the interruption of their trade.

Now the king of France might thus become the arbitrator of Europe; provided he would faithfully promise not to extend his own dominions, and would declare against whatever power should refuse the arbitrators he should name to them, or that were the most proper in that case. Now can there be a more honourable or praise-worthy character for a king of France, than that of maintaining peace between all the Christian states, and being looked upon as the peace-maker and mediator of the differences between princes?

Navigable canals are of the greatest utility to the inland commerce of a kingdom; for by their means goods and merchandizes of the greatest weight or bulk, may at a very small expence, be transported from the places where they abound and are useful, to those which are in want of them; and thus at once enrich the buyer and the seller.

Riquet, a very skilful engineer, about this time laid a proposal before the king, for bringing the boats of the Garonne up to a certain place, where by means of a number of different streams, he was to form a canal, which was to open into other
rivers

rivers and canals; and by these the boats were to be brought from the mouth of the river Garonne which is upon the Western Ocean, to the port of Cette, in the Mediterranean, without being obliged to pass through the straits of Gibraltar. This is the canal that was from hence called the canal of communication between the two seas, and since the canal of Languedoc.

Colbert, who had naturally an inclination for any undertaking that seemed advantageous to trade, thought this a noble and solid scheme, and brought the king to approve of it. Accordingly Riquet with the protection of the court happily succeeded in the execution, and this canal is actually of great service to the provinces through which it passes; because the tolls and repairs are very moderate, and every province will take care not to be imposed on by the toll-gatherers.

This canal, which begins near Toulouse and communicates with the Garonne, is above sixty leagues * in length. It has an hundred and four sluices to keep up the water which are poured in from a great basin that receives them from a number of different canals. This basin is two hundred toises † in length, and one hundred and fifty wide. It is at Naurouse, a place situated on

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* Or about one hundred and eighty English miles.

† The toise is a measure containing about six feet in length.

an eminence between Toulouse and Agde. One part of the waters descend by a canal into the Garonne, and from thence are emptied into the western ocean; the other part descends by a little river into the Mediterranean sea. This great work was finished in 1680, sixteen years after it was first begun.

This year there were a number of balls and feasts at court. The ministers following the example of cardinal Mazarin, were very willing that the king should by giving a loose to pleasure estrange himself from all business: for by this means they had every one a greater share of authority, and could manage the matters in their several departments according to their own minds.

1665.

Long time before Cicero, the philosophers endeavoured to reconcile man's free will with God's absolute foreknowledge. The wisest amongst them confined themselves to the following truths: 1. That man is a free agent. 2. That God positively foresees his actions. 3. That neither one nor other of these truths are to be rejected, though it cannot be comprehended *how* they are reconcilable with each other.

Another set, more presumptuous and given to extremes, boldly denied one of these truths: they maintained

maintained, that man was a free agent, and as such sometimes deserved reward, sometimes punishments; but denied, at the same time, that God absolutely foresaw the free actions of man.

Others again maintained, that God foresaw every thing in the most absolute manner, that he directed the will, and determined our choice to good or evil; but denied, that man was a free agent, or deserved either punishment or recompence.

Each of these parties that were in the extreme, were obliged to avow the most absurd conclusions, arising from their different opinions; while the more wise and moderate set, by acknowledging that they could not conceive *a method of reconciling* these two truths, were under no necessity of adopting any of the absurdities of the others.

Cicero, when asked his opinion concerning this question of man's free-will and God's prescience, is said to have declared, that if he must determine, he would rather say, that man was a free agent, and that God did not absolutely foresee his actions which were wholly free and uncontrouled. But happily for the wise man he is under no necessity of denying either of these truths; he is satisfied with owning, that he cannot reconcile them. But the generality of mankind, thro' impatience, presumption, vanity, party-spirit, or

a desire of distinguishing themselves, attempt to reconcile these mysterious truths, by a number of dark and vague expressions; or maintain one truth, by condemning the other as false and erroneous, and thus open a field for eternal disputation.

The same disputes frequently rise up at different times amongst mankind, and will do so in every age; but they make more noise in some than in others. About thirteen hundred years ago, there was a violent controversy between one Pelagus a Scottish monk, who had retired into Palestine, and St. Augustin bishop of Hippona in Africa, on the meaning of the word *Grace*, which each of them interpreted after his own manner.

This dispute was revived in Europe at the time that Luther and Calvin began to set on foot their heresies. It grew very warm in Holland, and produced the synod of Dordrecht in 1618. It broke out again with great violence among the theologists in France in 1640, on account of a Latin book, written by Jansenius bishop of Ypres.

The council of state this year, thought to put an end to these disputes, by procuring a decree from the pope, condemning five propositions that contained the principal points of Jansenius's doctrine;

doctrine; and drew up a formulary to be signed by the clergy, particularly those who enjoyed benefices: but so far was this from putting a stop to these disputes, that they encreased to such a degree as to become dangerous to the public peace, and seemed to threaten little less than a renewal of the civil wars.

Men are naturally fond of engaging in parties, either as a means of distinguishing themselves, or for the pleasure of being revenged on those who have shewn a contempt of them. The women are the same, and from the same motives; and every one through a zeal for his own party, is glad of an opportunity of vexing those of the opposite party. Each party calls its own opinion *the truth*, and each believes it a work of *charity* to persecute and destroy the other.

It is therefore of the highest consequence to a state to suppress the first sparks of religious disputes in their infancy. To this end it is necessary to punish those who disobey the injunction of silence by writing or preaching on the subjects of controversy; but this can only be done by an office of peace, composed of a number of the council, who should carefully enquire after such delinquents, and punish them as disturbers of the public peace. *It is a gross mistake to think, that religious disputes are to be quieted by decrees; they only serve to exasperate more the minds of those who are*
condemned,

condemned, and to authorises a spirit of persecution, which give rise to discontent and rebellion.

The only sure method is by obliging both parties to observe a strict silence with respect to the matter of controverfy; and to behave peaceably and submissively: for the combat necessarily ceases, when neither party mentions the cause of their dispute; and in thirty or forty years the whole is buried in oblivion, because the next generation will never interest themselves in a matter that is no where talked of. *Decrees only make persecutors, and persecuted; heretics and rebels:* whereas by simply observing silence; union, peace and charity, authority and submission are all kept up, and what is still more, the public tranquillity preserved.

Truth has nothing to fear from such a regulation; time will discover it to every one if it is truth, and time will bury it in oblivion if it is error.

Besides, the work of salvation may go on very well for several ages, independent of some truths: since before the disputes concerning these truths arose, mankind worked out their salvation without them: but there is no doing without charity and benevolence in matters of religion, nor can society subsist independent of harmony and union.

But

But suppose the truth should be suppressed by such silence, it will only be for a time; for though never so deeply plunged in obscurity, it is certain, that it will one day rise triumphant over error, though it can never totally destroy it. It will swim upon the surface, and continually lift up its head above the waves of oppression; and as it is in its own nature bright, it will shine forth intire, and make itself known by its lustre.

There is yet another very considerable observation in favour of the method of silence against that of absolute decrees; which is, that error is always excusable, because it is never voluntary; whereas non-obedience or a resistance to a lawful decree renders the party criminal, and worthy of condemnation. But is it not the part of a good prince to prefer the method which leaves some excuse for the delinquents, to that which make them condemnable criminals both in the sight of God and man?

I know very well that party-people, who hate those of an opposite party through what they call a spirit of charity, advise absolute decision, and not silence: first, that they may have the honour of being conquerors, and on the other hand, that they may enjoy the pleasure of revenge with impunity, by persecuting those who have dared to refuse assent to, or to controvert their opinions.

But

But the more these sort of people insist upon decision, the more ought the magistrates to insist upon observing the injunction of silence. The greatest part of the magistrates in Holland very imprudently declared against all indulgence, and were for making a decree against the disputes concerning Grace, which prevailed in 1618. Their opinion passed against that of the lesser number, who very wisely were for adopting the injunction of silence. A synod was held at Dordrecht, in which the Gomarists triumphed over the Arminians, but without being able to persuade either them or their successors of their error; and the republic was very near being involved in a civil war, for the private quarrel of Gomarus and Arminius two simple curates: because the States, instead of enjoining both parties silence, very injudiciously had recourse to absolute decision. Now the late Lewis XIV's council in 1665 imprudently followed the bad example the Dutch had set them in 1618.

But while the council were taking these imprudent steps with respect to religious disputations, Colbert was pursuing the wisest measures for establishing a trade for looking-glasses. He had very wisely remarked, that great part of our money was carried to Venice for their glasses, points and laces; to England for fine cloths, and curious scarlet dyes; and to Flanders for tapestry: and that

that instead of keeping our own natives of France employed in useful manufactures at a cheap rate, we paid an extravagant price for the labours of foreigners, and those frequently our enemies.

These observations determined him to set on foot several manufactures in France for plate-glass, French point, fine cloths, and good dyes. Accordingly he invited over a number of the best workmen from foreign countries, and this year 1665, he began the execution of his projects. A furnace for making glass was set up in the wood of Tour-la-ville near Cherbourg, about three leagues distance from St. Pierre-Eglise in the eastern part of Normandy, the place of my birth; and this manufacture has since been carried to great perfection at St. Gobin in Picardy, where they first invented smoothing of glass.

Colbert likewise set up a manufactory for tapestry, and another for dying woollen in the suburbs of St. Marcel in Paris on the river of the Gobelins; and several manufactories for French point in the street of St. Denis. There were many others set on foot at the same time in different parts of the kingdom, as at Elbeuf in particular, where they manufactured fine cloths. By these dispositions our money was kept amongst us at home, and what was of still greater importance, a number of useless hands were thus put into employment; and several occupied as usefully again as they had been before. The

The judges places first began to be sold under the reign of Lewis XII. upwards of two hundred years ago; but when a judge died without having sold his place, the king disposed of it after his death. One Paulet, under the reign of Henry the Great, proposed, that they should have the liberty of paying a yearly sum to the king, by way of dues, on condition that their places should be made hereditary: this was approved of, and agreed to by both parties.

As Paulet, the contriver of this scheme, was the first farmer of this yearly duty, it was called Paulet's tax, and afterwards by corruption, *the Paulette*. The king issued a declaration confirming this annual duty, and fixing the price of these places, which were grown to an extravagant height: but the rich financiers or farmers of the revenue, who wanted to purchase them for their children, and who under-hand gave a gratuity to those who had the disposal of them, rendered these limitations useless; and as the merchants and their families at Rouen are daily ingrossing all the places in the parliament of Normandy to the great prejudice of trade; so the families of the farmers of the revenue are continually getting places in the parliament of Paris, by which means this parliament of peers, once so illustrious, has already lost great part of its dignity and authority.

By

By these venal methods of procedure, the rich, idle, voluptuous financier, equally destitute of virtue and talents, is to the eternal disgrace of our government preferred to the gentleman of birth, understanding, application, knowledge, and virtue, who has not money enough to purchase. It would be something, if the king, as a means of exciting an emulation in young people to business, had thought of doing that in the long robe, that he afterwards did in the employs in the army; and caused the stipulated price for the places to be carried to the royal treasury, that the most fit person might be chosen by scrutiny from amongst the several candidates: but indeed hitherto the department of war has been much better regulated than that of the long robe.

In the beginning of this year, the Journal of the Learned of France [*Journal des Sçavans*] first made its appearance, and has served as a model for several performances of the like kind in different parts of Europe. It contains the freshest intelligence relating to new productions of the learned; and by means of extracts from their writings, at once conveys what is most new and most useful, and of the greatest importance to the good of society. It might be made still better, if the government would employ the best authors, with suitable pensions, and in a greater number, and alter the form to one more useful and amusing.

Towards

Towards the end of this year, died Philip IV. king of Spain, at the age of sixty years. He had taken no care of his health in his younger days, and he died rather of a weakness brought on by immoderate pleasures, than that which is incident to old age. He was mild in his disposition, patient, backward to undertake any thing, easily startled at difficulties, fearful of labour, and always in need of a prime minister: accordingly like Lewis XIII. he never was without one.

1666.

Anne of Austria the queen-mother died this year. She was declared regent of the kingdom upon the death of her husband in 1643. She continued to govern notwithstanding the king's being declared of age in September 1651; for the act made by Charles V. near three hundred years before, which declares our kings major, at the age of thirteen years and one day, is no other than a piece of ceremony; and indeed a child of thirteen years and a day old is no more than a child, nor can any more knowledge and resolution be expected from him than from a child. Accordingly the queen did not properly lose her authority, till after the death of cardinal Mazarin, her favourite and prime minister, which happened in 1661. So that her government may be said to have lasted near eighteen years.

Her

Her regency was almost continually disturbed by factions and civil wars, for Mazarin her prime minister had not Richelieu's art of making himself sufficiently dreaded by the factious spirits; he was more cunning than skilful, and easily alarmed at the prospect of danger: therefore in troublesome times, he was so far from encouraging the queen, that he was the first to intimidate her.

However she took two or three bold steps in spite of him, but the natural fearfulness of the Italian getting the ascendant, the court fell to deceiving by sham negotiations, instead of supporting itself by fresh instances of vigour and resolution.

The queen was by nature endowed with a considerable share of courage, and an unalterable stiffness of opinion. This is obstinacy, when it is attendant upon error and a bad proceeding, but fortitude, when exerted in defence of truth and right. Resolution is in my opinion the principal qualification towards acquiring authority; we should always support our determinations with courage, and even with a degree of heat when we meet with resistance: to be obeyed, we must appear unalterable in our will.

Nothing lessens a person's credit, and consequently his authority, so much as the appearance

of wavering. It may even be said, that all things weighed, the wrong steps taken by those at the head of affairs are not so much owing to their want of knowledge and discernment as to their want of resolution, or if you please their want of obstinacy.

I am persuaded, that if the queen had been fortunate enough to have met with a minister of spirit, she would have had much greater authority, and her regency would have been far more quiet and easy. Nor would she have acquired less glory by governing the French, than queen Elizabeth did sixty years before by ruling over the English.

Anne of Austria was always bent on the marriage between her son and her niece, and considered it as one of the master-pieces of her regency: she succeeded to her wish in effecting it, and to this invariableness of character in her, a branch of the house of France owes its present reign over the Spanish monarchy.

She was always desirous, that her son should avoid going to war with Spain, and the king, out of complaisance to her opinion, entertained no thoughts, during her life-time, of reviving the claims of the queen his wife, which indeed he had solemnly renounced, and which became extinct in consequence of such renunciation: but no
sooner

sooner was his mother dead, than by the advice of his secretary of war, who was desirous of encreasing his own influence, he determined to take measures for wresting Flanders from the crown of Spain.

Fatal resolution! which has overwhelmed this once rich and flourishing state with an immense load of debts, from which it will be impossible for it ever to free itself, unless a Solomon should rise up among our kings, and during the course of a long reign, by a lasting and solid peace, extraordinary prudence and great oeconomy, find means to pay off the debts of the state, and encrease its revenue by encreasing the maritime trade and revenue of the subject.

The Dutch were this year so imprudent as to dispute the honour of the flag with the English, and to refuse adjusting in an amicable manner some little affairs relating to trade of no great consequence to either side. Those who had the government of the republic committed a great error in politics by striving thus against the stream, as appeared in the end; for they were not only obliged to give up their pretensions, but were the expences of the war out of pocket, which amounted to upwards of fifteen thousand marks, or seventy-five millions of livres, without reckoning the loss of men; all which they might have avoided by taking the King of France for arbi-

trator, or any of the sovereign princes he should have named.

The pensionary John de Wit, at that time chief minister in Holland, a man of great resolution, was highly blamed for not having inclined his masters to an accommodation rather than have persuaded them to go to war. It was certainly a capital fault in this great man, after taking part like a good citizen in the resentment of his country against the English, not to have sufficiently reflected, that *in matters of state, resentment is to go for nothing; but the true interest of the state for all; because resentments are evils that pass off in time, whereas the expenses attendant on the gratification of them are felt for ever.*

What makes the pensionary's imprudence still more evident, is, that supposing the Dutch, during the two years that the war lasted, had by victories and a subsequent treaty, gained all their pretensions, they would not have gained the tenth part of the value of the men that were sacrificed, and the treasure that was lavished, not to mention that treaties of peace between two states are often less durable than truces; because the party who is obliged to yield to superiority of force, does not think he yields to justice, but only to the fortune of war which is every day changing, sometimes declaring for one, sometimes for another, according to the vicissitude of human affairs, which

which depends upon an infinite number of causes, which the most profound wisdom cannot foresee.

This year the academy of sciences was first instituted by Colbert. This institution was fully perfected about three and twenty years afterwards, viz. in 1699. But there are several ways of making it still more advantageous to the nation, by appointing suitable rewards to encourage the learned to turn their minds more to the perfecting of arts and the advancement of true utility, than to idle speculations, and fruitless curiosity. Why might they not, for example, divide the arts which are of most use to a state into six classes, and place at the head of each class three members of the academy, who should particularly inspect the cultivation of the arts of their class; and settle proper rewards for those who should make useful discoveries, in proportion to their degree of utility; to be determined by the judgment of the council? and these rewards to make in twenty years the two hundredth part of what such useful discovery brought in a year. But I have discussed this matter more at large elsewhere.

1667.

This year the king had his hands full of business: the secretary of war had made him believe, that there was somewhat noble in doing himself justice; and to that end persuaded him to make

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himself

himself master of several towns, belonging to the king of Spain in Flanders : as if he could ever gain honour by an open violation of his promises.

The court flatterers were for ever extolling him on his great power, without considering that superior power is only commendable when in the hands of a king that knows how to use it with justice and moderation, for the welfare of his own subjects, or the benefit of his neighbours. But the subjects of Lewis were compelled to purchase, by the most exorbitant subsidies, conquests that were not worth the tenth part what they cost; and he ruined his neighbours, and drove them by repeated acts of violence and oppression to unite against him as the common enemy of Europe.

His minister persuaded him, that when his neighbours saw him extending his conquests, and growing formidable by taking so many places, they would remain astonished, and sit with their arms across without once thinking of putting a stop to his progress.

And yet he might imagine, that considerable conquests would certainly alarm his neighbours, and put them upon obliging him to make a restitution, and trifling conquests were not worth the pains of troubling the peace of Europe, and making himself hated by his own people, whom
he

he must load with taxes without procuring them any advantage in return.

But he was nine and twenty, and at that age a man that has not been improved by a good education, nor by reading; and has no other way of forming his conceptions and decisions but upon the praises and flatteries of a set of young unthinking courtiers, who are ready to sacrifice everything to their ambition and hopes of preferment: such an one I say can never discern the real merit of what he proposes to himself if at any considerable distance, so as to make the proper allowances for what dazzles the eyes of the vulgar; especially if this young man has for minister a person of an ambitious turn, one who prefers making his own fortune to the welfare of his nation, and who cares for nothing but aggrandizing his own authority at his country's expence, and at the expence of his master's character, by engaging him in acts of injustice that must reflect baseness and dishonour upon his name.

Charleroi, Ath, Binch, Menin, Comines, Deinse, Tielt, Tournay, Bergues, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtray, Douai, Oudenarde, Aloft and Lille, all towns in Flanders, were taken by the king in this unhappy campaign; unhappy, I call it, for him; for here he first began to be pleased with the success of an unjust war. It was a fatal charm, like that which young gamesters experience who are

so unfortunate as to win at their first essay; which leads them on to a passion and habit of gaming, that seldom fails to end in the ruin of themselves and families.

The king, young and unthinking, did not hear his subjects thus arguing among themselves; *Is he not rich enough already, that he must endeavour to get more at our expence? is it enriching himself to beggar us, and put a stop to our trade by which we live? will this get him a coach more, a coat more, a dish more upon his table, or a blessing more from his people?*

He did not hear his neighbours who began to say to each other, *This is a dangerous neighbour, he will one day occasion us a long train of cares, complaints, uneasiness and misery; how wretched are the neighbours of a prince who laughs at honesty in treaties, and derides the plain and simple manner in which others understand them by interpreting them always to his own interest! we can never be in safety with him while he makes use of such explanations, or adopts such interests.* But his true interest was to have made himself the sole giver of lasting peace to Europe, by obliging the most powerful to accept of arbiters.

But alas! he heard nothing of all this, surrounded as he was by a crowd of giddy creatures, who were all of them fond of engaging in any new undertaking

undertaking that carried an éclat with it, though void of solidity as wanting the basis of justice and charity.

While Louvois was continually inspiring the king with false notions of the glory arising from superior force, while he talked to him of nothing but plans for conquests, Colbert, who was wholly attentive to what concerned the interior of the kingdom, compleated a work that reflected the greatest honour on the king and his minister. This was the ordonnance for abridging the methods of proceedings at the bar: a noble work, and that cost an infinite deal of pains both to Colbert and those who were employed by him in it, but it was certainly of the greatest utility to the kingdom, by introducing an uniformity in the methods of proceedings at the bar throughout all the provinces.

It is certain, that this plan is still imperfect, and labours of this kind must always be so in some degree; but it would be very easy to remedy the inconveniencies we perceive, if we were to form a perpetual office for making corrections and improvements nearly like that which Colbert instituted, when he first began to reform the methods of proceeding.

It is to be wished, that the present king would follow the same plan of uniformity in law businesses that was established by his predecessor: all the provinces

provinces, by erecting a like office in the same provinces, and this by virtue of a civil law that might be named the *French Law*, and extend over the whole French empire, in the same manner as Justinian heretofore in a like office issued an ordinance that he called the *Roman Law*, and extending over the whole Roman empire.

It is to be wished, that this office was to be perpetual, for the continual improvement of these ordinances, and that every ten years a new ordinance should be issued with such improvements. I have published a book upon this subject, intitled, *A Scheme for lessening the causes of Law-Suits*.

It is for want of such a perpetual office that our civil statutes are so long without being brought to perfection, though they stand so much in need of it; for they have not been revised, nor received the least alteration since the reform in the customs about an hundred and fifty years ago.

To say the truth, my wishes are in part accomplished, and there is such an office held at the chancellor's for this purpose; but then it only takes in the laws of proceeding, and for want of a sufficient fund for the payment of skilful labourers, the work is far from being perfect, and advances but very slowly.

The

The king, at the instigation of Colbert, set on foot the building an observatory for the use of astronomers, in their observation of the planets and their eclipses, for the improvement of geography both by sea and land; this is the chief use of astronomy: and here I shall take occasion to say, that if there are to be three skilful people appointed to this academy for making observations on the stars, there ought likewise to be three good geographical designers, for making and revising the geographical maps in their division of Europe, and the other parts of the globe; for certainly what is most useful should be preferred to what is more curious and less useful.

This year the king created a new rank or degree of honour between colonel and *maréchal de camp* (or major-general) which was that of *brigadier*; where let me remark, that it would be very proper to make another degree between captain and colonel, under the title of *first captain*, which should not always be the oldest; and another between lieutenant-general and marshal of France, called *captain-general*.

The same method might be observed in the body of clergy, and the magistracy; and thus multiplying the degrees of honour would excite the emulation, attention and assiduity of the respective officers in working for the common good; but this supposes the establishment of the
plan

plan of scrutiny to be carried into execution; for without such an establishment there will be no emulation, no labour: but every one will depend upon the interest of his patron.

1668.

The king, who had taken ten or twelve of the king of Spain's towns in Flanders, during the last year's campaign, began to think of making new conquests; but the rapid successes of this young victor began to alarm all the neighbouring states; who were fearful that if he should go on in this manner he would soon become formidable to them. Accordingly, the English, the Dutch, and the Swede entered into a league for checking the progress of the French arms in Flanders. This league was called the triple alliance; the members of which bestirred themselves so effectually in soliciting a pacification, that a treaty was signed at St. Germain's, and ratified at Aix-la-Chapelle in May, by which a peace was settled between the kings of France and Spain. The former was to keep the towns he had conquered in virtue of his pretensions, and to reimburse him for the expences of the war, and the triple alliance was guarantee for the execution of the treaty. And here it may not improperly be remarked, that the allies committed a great fault in not entering into this alliance a year sooner, when they first saw the preparations the French king was making to break the

the Pyrenean treaty of peace; and frustrate the intention of the renunciation he had made to all his queen's rights; they ought for their own security to have offered their assistance to Spain, as the weakest power, in order to prevent the stronger from aggrandizing himself at his expence, to the prejudice of those who were neighbours to him, and had every thing to dread from a power already so great and ambitious, and who would never want a pretext for becoming their enemy, in defiance of the most solemn treaties whenever his interest prompted him to it.

It is certain, that at the death of Philip IV. his daughter, who was married to the French king, might have some pretensions on a part of Flanders, if we consider her only as a private individual, and with an eye to the usual manner of succession between citizen and citizen in the Low Countries; but custom can give no right, especially when by treaties between two sovereigns, there is a formal deviation from such customs; for treaties settle the respective rights between the parties, and though there should be no guarantees for the mutual observation of such treaties, yet the laws that the negotiating powers make to themselves are regarded as laws in every sense of the word, and on them they found their respective rights; and every neighbouring state ought in justice, and for its own security, to consider itself as a natural guarantee in its proper private capacity;

city, for the execution of the treaties between its neighbours, and as mediator of their differences, and interested to prevent war and hostilities between them.

Now there was a formal law of renunciation on the part of the queen of France and the king her husband; and it was acting in downright contravention to the good faith of contracts, and that which should be observed in explaining engagements and promises and other clauses of a treaty, to pretend to assert that a daughter cannot, for the general good of the sovereign powers of Europe, give up certain rights, as one of the articles of her dowry, when she finds herself advantageously married.

But to see more clearly the injustice of these pretended rights of the queen, the young king of France had only to put himself for a moment in the king of Spain's place, and he would then have instantly perceived that such pretensions must appear unjust in the eyes of every impartial judge. What would he have said in the like case, if a prince more powerful than himself, should have so palpably falsified his promises and oaths to him?

The king who used to go sometimes, like Lewis XIII. his predecessor, from St. Germain en Laye to Versailles on a party of hunting, took it into his

his head to enlarge and beautify this small house, which his father had built purely for an hunting-seat; and from one thing to another he ran into an expence infinitely too great for a place, whose situation was much inferior to St. Germain, and many other pleasant spots in that part of the country, both in point of air and prospect. Had he laid out the fourth part of the four millions he expended at Versailles, upon a building in the square of Chateau neuf at St. Germain, he would have been commended by every one, whereas he was universally condemned for raising so immense a sum upon his people, to beautify a place that nature had not blessed with half the advantages of St. Germain. In short, it was a very ill concerted, idle and senseless scheme, nay, and a very unjust and oppressive one likewise; for should a king thus load his people with expences that can never be of the least advantage to them? but those who had the care of his education had not taught him to, discern justice from injustice, by consulting the simple rule of doing by others as one would be done by.

Colbert happily thought of repairing Paris with a new pavement which was much larger, and stronger and more commodious than the old one; and cause several streets to be paved which were not paved before: add to this, that by encreasing the number of the foot and horse patrolle, he cleared the town of the great number of thieves and pickpockets,

pickpockets, which prevented people from stirring out after it was dark. A few years after he placed lamps in all the streets, and ordered carts for carrying away the filth out of the town into the out-parts. These additional conveniencies have greatly helped to make the capital more flourishing.

• This year there were chambers erected for purging the provinces of false nobility; but that title was soon after made a great deal too cheap. Letters of nobility were to be purchased for about two hundred and fifty marks in silver.

In my opinion there should be two different degrees in the nobility; the first class should be called the ancient, and consist of those who could prove their nobility for two hundred and fifty years, or upwards, that is, for seven or eight generations; and the second class of those who had somewhat less than two hundred and fifty years nobility, with a mark of honour to distinguish it from the first, unless the descendant of one of these should have done some work of great excellence and importance, or have filled some considerable post in the state to the emolument of his country; in that case the king might give him honorary letters, by which he might be inrolled in the first class, from which the king should make dukes and counts, not hereditary but wholly personal.

1669.

The Dutch, who were more interested than any other nation, in securing to Spain the towns it held in Flanders as their strongest barrier against the power of France; had accordingly exerted themselves with uncommon spirit in forming the triple alliance, for putting a stop to the farther aggrandisement of that monarchy, which could never be suffered to strengthen itself on the side of Holland, but to the manifest prejudice of their safety. By this triple alliance they put an effectual and speedy stop to the torrent that threatened to overwhelm them, and very dexterously profited of the discontent of the Swedes against the court of France, for having stopped the payment of the yearly subsidy of twelve hundred thousand livres which it had engaged to pay them by former treaties.

The Dutch laid hold of this opportunity, and promised the Swedes to pay them these twelve hundred thousand livres, and actually advanced the sum.

These steps had greatly served to incense the king against them, and Louvois did not fail to aggravate the breach, by frequently representing to his majesty, that had it not been for the assistance that France had given this ungrateful republic at dif-

ferent times, it would never have been able to have held out against the Spanish power; this was certainly true; but he did not mention how much it was the interest of France at that time to support them: nor did he chuse to take notice of another truth, viz. that the same interest of self-preservation that had obliged the Dutch formerly to have recourse to France for assistance against the too great power of Spain, now obliged them to assist Spain grown weak, against the too great power of France. Therefore in fact, they were not in fault with respect to France; unless that is a fault which is generally esteemed prudent and praise-worthy; a proper regard to self-preservation: but the king who was young, impetuous, and not strictly confined to notions of justice, continued highly incensed against them, and earnestly longed for an opportunity of being revenged.

In this disposition Louvois easily persuaded him, that if he could detach England from the triple alliance, he might make the Dutch feel the weight of his resentment, and yet spare such places belonging to Spain as should remain neuter. The design of this minister, who was secretary of war, was to buoy up the king with continual notions of conquests; accordingly he began from this year to make preparations for a war with the Dutch.

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The king, the better to conceal his designs, took a journey into Flanders, under a pretence of visiting the conquered places ; and prevailed upon his sister-in-law, the dutchess of Orleans, who was sister to the king of England, to go over-sea to negotiate a private treaty with the king her brother, for humbling the Dutch, whose immense riches had, as he pretended, made them insolent ; and whose trade by the present flourishing condition it was in, did great hurt to that of the English.

Accordingly, the dutchess, who was with the court at Calais, desired leave of the king to make a trip over to Dover to see the king of England her brother, who was at that place just then as it were by accident : his majesty consented, and she set out, taking with her a good sum of money, and a number of fine women ; and what with her gold and the bright eyes of the lovely mademoiselle de Querouaille, she prevailed upon the king her brother to consent to the private treaty she proposed to him ; which consisted in his promising to suffer Lewis to mortify and punish the Dutch for their pretended ingratitude, without giving them the least assistance.

The dutchess died about a twelvemonth afterwards, and mademoiselle de Querouaille went over to England ; where she soon became the mother of the duke of Richmond, and continued to keep up

a strict connection with Barillon the ambassador from our court; who took care to furnish her every year with the necessary sums from France, so long as she could keep the king of England inactive.

Had it been required for the king of England to act as a principal, or to furnish arms or money, he could not have done it without the consent of his parliament, who raise the supplies; but as remaining in inaction required no subsidies he was entirely the master in that respect; and he was the readier to give into it as he was by nature of an indolent disposition. Thus Charles received French money for doing nothing; and by the hands of the fair Querouaille, who was soon after created dutchess of Portsmouth.

During the course of these negociations for bringing about a war that Louvois was so desirous of lighting up, Colbert had his thoughts employed on the improvement of the interior of the state, and as he found that timber for house and ship-building began to grow scarce, he published a statute of eyre (*des eaux & forêts*,) by which it was forbidden to cut down any large trees or woods without the king's special order, and as the court was particularly nice with respect to the woods belonging to the clergy, it was ordered, that the fourth part of their coppice-wood should be left for growth.

There

This was an excellent edict in the main; but still the projectors did not foresee all that was necessary: and it was a fault in the minister not to have established a perpetual office for the care of improving it; he was guilty of the like error in the civil ordonnance in 1667, by not appointing an office for the examining the memorials for emendations or additions after the first ten years, when experience had shewn the defects in the plan. Now here one and the same office would have done for both.

Another fault was, in suffering the commission of eyre to be a separate jurisdiction, instead of uniting it to the royal jurisdiction. The petty jurisdictions, when separate, open a great field to injustice, because private interest will always predominate in them over the public interest. But in large companies, it is much more shameful to be noted for a corrupt person, or one who prefers his own private interest to that of the state, than it is in the smaller companies, where the numbers generally agree in one point, and pass over little lucrative acts of injustice among each other without taking notice of them.

This year Candy was taken by the Turk from the Venetians, whose power has been ever since upon the decline. The first fault they committed was in not using their endeavours to get them-

selves comprehended in the truce, that the emperor made with the Turk in 1664, for twenty-one years, after the battle of St. Godart; for even though it had cost them three millions to the emperor payable in three years they would have gained three times the value, and have preserved Candy and the rest of their islands in the Archipelago, and the emperor would on his side have been a gainer by not suffering the Turk, who is his natural enemy, to grow expert in war, and make an addition to his power.

These two powers were jointly guilty of a still greater fault, which was that of not negotiating an alliance with the other states that were neighbours to the Turk, as Poland, Muscovy, and even with the king of Persia, for the mutual defence of all parties, or else for carrying on an offensive war jointly after the expiration of the twenty years truce, and to be guarantees to each other for the conquests that should be made in the course of the war; but after all, what are the conquests of princes, and their mutual promises, but mere childrens play? they cost a great deal to acquire, and always end in smoke; and this will continue to be the case till the European diet be formed.

1670.

The Dutch were not long before they perceived that the king of England was far from being an ally

ally to depend upon against France. Accordingly, they very prudently made a new defensive alliance with Spain and the emperor; they even renewed the triple alliance at the Hague with the English and the Swede; but notwithstanding all these precautions, they were in great dread of being insulted by France, under a minister who could not long support his credit without going to war with the neighbouring states.

The Algerines, who began to stand in awe of us by sea, made peace, or rather a truce with us, designing soon after to break with the English or the Dutch, and support their rapine and piracies that way; and in this manner will they always behave as well as the Tunifians, Tripolenes and Saletines; so long as the powers of Europe will not contribute, in proportion to their trade up the Levant, towards augmenting the naval forces of the knights of Malta, for scouring those seas of these pirates.

Our laws and customs relating to proceedings in criminal cases were not at all uniform in the different parliaments; nor was there so much as one court of decrees. Colbert formed an office for compiling, uniformising and improving these proceedings; and this produced what is called *the criminal code*, which has been of great use. But for want of the minister's having made this office perpetual, this ordonnance remains much more

imperfect than it would have been, had there been an office appointed for receiving such memorials as might be the result of a sixty or seventy years experience.

We likewise stood in need of a general ordonnance, that might take in all the penal and corporal laws, and make an addition to the punishment of some certain crimes ; for instance now, we have not a sufficient punishment in France for simple theft, committed by flight of hand by those wretches they call *pickpockets* ; for, for want of punishing this crime with death, these gangs of pickpockets become so many seminaries for thieves and murderers. Now if every theft committed by one of these wretches was immediately punished with death, we should see much fewer thieves and pick-pockets.

There was a declaration issued this year in favour of the Foundling Hospital at Paris ; a plan which has been since followed in London. We owe these useful ordonnances to the indefatigable labours of Colbert, who would have rendered the state much more flourishing, had Louvois had any other way of acquiring credit than by war ; and this he might have had by taking the management of foreign affairs, maritime commerce, and the colonies ; and if the management of all home-affairs, excepting those of the revenue and inland trade, which Colbert would have succeeded in to

a miracle, had been given to a third minister; but unhappily this partition of the ministry into different departments, the scheme of which was found among the papers of the dauphin of Burgundy, was not then thought of.

1671.

In 1668, the Dutch caused a medal to be struck that was an eternal monument of their vanity: it was the figure of Pallas, holding a sceptre and trampling discord under her feet, with this legend, *mitis & fortis*, mild and valiant; and at the bottom, *procul hinc mala bestia regnis*; hence with the monster so dangerous to every state. In the reverse was the Belgic lion, holding a cannon between his paws, with these words, *sic fines tutamur & undas*, thus we defend our borders by sea and land; and underneath was this inscription: *Affertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjunctis defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicatâ marium libertate, pace egregiâ, virtute armorum partâ, stabilita orbis Europæ quiete, numisma hoc Status fœderati Belgii cudi fecerunt 1668*. In remembrance of rights asserted, religion amended, allies protected, kings reconciled, the liberty of the seas asserted, a glorious peace acquired by superior valour, and the peace of Europe settled on a solid foundation: the united states of Holland caused this medal to be struck in the year 1668.

This

This medal came out at the time of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668; but Louvois revived the story again in 1671, remarking to the king, that the republic itself was pictured under the image of Pallas, and thus arrogated all the glory of putting an end to the war in 1667, though England and Sweden had far the greatest share in it on account of the great consideration his majesty had for these two powers: that it was certain the Dutch had stirred more than any other power in forming the triple alliance to thwart the king's designs, in which they shewed the greatest ingratitude, and deserved to be heartily punished.

There was a talk much about the same time of another medal, which however the Dutch positively deny, that was still more insolent and affrontive to the king. It is said to have been the head of a man, with these words in the exargue, *Peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1668*; and in the reverse, Joshua commanding the sun to stand still, with this inscription from holy writ, *Stetit itaque sol*; and the sun stood still. Here Louvois desired the king to observe, that the head resembled Van Beuning, whose Christian name was *Joshua*, and who had often boasted of having negotiated the triple alliance at the Hague, to prevent the king from many new conquests in Flanders; that this same man had settled the articles of peace with

with the king at St. Germain's that were signed some days afterwards at Aix-la-Chapelle; and that the Dutch, having heard that the king used to bear the body of the sun as his device, were pleased to have an opportunity of insulting and mortifying him by this medal.

Besides it was said, that the Dutch Gazette writer had several times made very injurious reflections on the king and the French nation.

Grotius, who was at this time ambassador from the States to the court of France; began to perceive that the king sought some occasion of being revenged on his nation for these real or imaginary insults: he acquainted his masters with his discovery, who were the more alarmed at it, as they did not find in their allies, especially the English, any great inclination to support them. They were a little at variance with the latter on the subject of trade, and a dispute with regard to Surinam, and the saluting of the English flag at sea. Accordingly, they made many offers of satisfaction to the king by their ambassador: but Lewis, who thought he saw their pride and insolence in the midst of their concessions and compliments, was not to be diverted from his resolution of humbling them; and employed the whole of this year in making leagues abroad, and the strongest preparations for war by sea and land at home.

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The council of the States were guilty of a great error in this critical juncture, in not sending a solemn deputation of three or four ambassadors to the king to disown in the name of their nation every thing that appeared insulting or affrontive in those medals; and to ask pardon for the neglect of the republic in suffering them to be struck. These deputies should have been authorised to make every satisfaction the king should require, and confine themselves to saying, with respect to the triple alliance, that it was only intended for their own security and preservation.

A solemn embassy of this kind would not have cost them above an hundred thousand crowns; and would have been an instance of their prudence and humility, which would have disarmed the king, and saved their subjects their subsequent losses and expences which amounted to forty times the sum.

The false pride of refusing to make such concessions as are dictated by modesty and good-breeding, obliged them to the most extraordinary efforts in that ruinous war they were engaged in with the English in 1666, and it was the same vanity that kept them from sending a solemn and humble embassy to pacify Lewis XIV. and brought on them a war with France, which proved still more ruinous and calamitous

lamitous to them, than that they had with the English.

But the king was no less blameable and imprudent for his want of moderation, in not being able to suffer the insolent vanity of a few impertinent fellows in Holland, and hazarding the loss of forty thousand soldiers and officers, besides obliging his subjects to pay above an hundred and fifty millions, during the six years that the war lasted, purely to humble the foolish vanity and pride of the Dutch ; now might not these one hundred and fifty millions, and the lives of so many subjects have procured the king a number of pure and substantial pleasures far superior to that childish one of scourging a few insolent fools ?

But the truth is, that the king, who was as childish as they, was hurt by their vanity ; and yet it would have been infinitely better to have laughed at such an insult than to have resented it : this however is the true, the real state of this trifling insult, which Louvois had the skill to make appear so great in his master's eyes. And such was the undertaking that he represented as so necessary for his glory ; accordingly, himself alone was the gainer, by all the losses that this war brought upon the Dutch, the Swedes, Spaniards, Germans and French ; he indeed raised his influence, authority, consideration and the fortunes of his family and creatures, and laughed at his rival Colbert,

bert, who had all the trouble of raising the immense impositions, which were to help make the secretary of war a person of greater consequence.

And here it must be owned, that the great success of this unjust undertaking proved the means of irritating our neighbours more against us, and of disposing them to join together against a young monarch, whose growing power threatened them with a like treatment; but this was exactly the thing that Louvois aimed at, in order to make himself of greater importance in his office, by distracting his rival with a load of troublesome affairs.

It is a truth easily demonstrable, that a sovereign, who involves his people in a great expence, should always have in view to procure them a profit greatly superior to such expence; otherwise he is guilty of an act of injustice before God, and in his own conscience. And yet Louvois, who was prepossessed with the weak opinion of the vulgar, that a superiority in arms is a praise-worthy virtue be it employed ever so unjustly, brought the king over to his way of thinking; who immediately set about preparing every thing that could favour Louvois's project, and insure its success; and the numerous difficulties he met with, only served to encrease his resolution of surmounting them. Happy for him and for us had he reflected that justice alone deserved his care and application!

The

The Dutch, by a bad step in politics, in order to vex the king, forbid the importation of French wines; and the king on his side forbid his subjects to sell their brandies to the Dutch, who stood in great need of them for the use of their seamen; and laid an additional duty on the entries of spices and other commodities imported by the Dutch, while those of the English and other nations remained at the usual rates. Thus every thing seemed tending to a rupture at the beginning of the ensuing year.

This year the king began building the hospital for invalids and maimed soldiers, under the direction of Mansard. There is more shew than real solidity in this plan; for every man stands the nation in three hundred livres for his maintenance in Paris; whereas by allowing each of them an hundred livres in the respective villages where they were born, they would think themselves infinitely more happy, and instead of two thousand invalids, the king would be able to maintain six thousand with the same funds. There should be none suffered to remain in Paris, but such as were natives of the place, and an office should be erected for paying the soldiers in the several provinces, and for keeping the proper lists and entries.

Colbert, who was not satisfied with enriching the kingdom by the encouragement of manufactures

tures at home, and the improvement of trade abroad, but was likewise desirous to give it a greater lustre by the progress of the sciences; invited many learned men from all parts of the world to come and settle in France: and at the same time sent some of the most learned of our own kingdom into Africa, America, and divers parts of Europe to make observations for the improvement of the sciences, particularly natural philosophy, physics, navigation and geography.

He laboured with all his powers to put the finances upon a good footing, and it may be said, that his very great application that way, and the success it met with, were of detriment to the kingdom in the main; because it gave the king a greater facility of raising his immense supplies for carrying on the ruinous war he was engaged in, which he could not have done had he had a minister of less abilities and application at the head of the revenue.

1672.

The sixth of April in this year, the king ordered war to be openly declared against the Dutch in Paris, and the said declaration to be put up in all public places; but as this declaration did not mention any sufficient motive for entering into so expensive, and in all probability, so tedious a war, it was the general opinion, that Louvois would have

have acted more agreeable to his duty as minister and counsellor to the king, in dissuading him from making such a declaration as must necessarily give him the character of a troublesome, unjust, and mischievous neighbour: it is adding to the injury done the public, to give it bad or insufficient reasons. But by not publishing a manifesto, the king would have it thought that himself and the nation had received the greatest cause for complaint against the Dutch.

His majesty with an hundred and thirty thousand men began his march towards Maestricht by the way of Charleroi; he commanded the grand army in person, the prince of Condé, who was usually called, the Prince, commanded the second division, and monsieur de Turenne the third.

The Dutch, whose whole force did not amount to more than twenty-five thousand men, could afford but weak supplies to above thirty garrisons that they had to maintain; and the insolent manner in which they had behaved during their prosperity, to the neighbouring powers which were weaker than themselves, made these powers look with pleasure on their present dilemma.

In the course of this campaign, the king reduced the thirty-six following towns, Tongres, Majeick, Orsois, Burik, Vesel, Rhimbergue, Emeric, Doetkam, Arnem, Shenck, Duyssbourg, De-

venter, Groll, Hardewick, Amersfort, Kempen, Rhenen, Viane, Elbourg, Vich, Zwol, Culémbourg, Vageningen, Vars, Lekem, Hattem, Zutphen, St. André, Varni, Genep, Niméguen, Narden, Crevecœur, Bommel, Bodegrave, and Swammerdam; the greater part of which were fortified, and the others to preserve themselves from the torrent which threatened them laid most part of the country round them under water, and even the magistrates of Amsterdam were in actual deliberation to surrender themselves to the king.

And now the Dutch began to be sensible how great an error they had committed in not having entertained timely and suitable notions of the power of a young monarch at the head of a numerous army, counselled by a set of hot-brained young courtiers, that were continually striving who should the most distinguish themselves in braving dangers and difficulties; now too they repented not having entered into a reciprocal league of defence against the growing power of France in 1664 and 1665, by joining the Spaniards, and preventing the French king from making such great conquests as he did in the Spanish Low Countries in 1667.

But however these great and rapid successes against the Dutch, soon alarmed the neighbouring states, and made them more inclinable to enter into a league with them, not so much from any love they bore that republic, as out of a principle of self-preservation.

preservation. Accordingly, some advances were made towards a pacification, and the king, who in his turn began to be under some apprehension of the number and strength of the powers that were likely to league against him, readily lent an ear to proposals for a treaty of peace.

Generally speaking sovereign powers do not think of uniting for their mutual defence till it is almost too late; and the republic who, through a desire of saving two or three millions that it would have cost them to form a strong defensive alliance, had let slip several favourable opportunities within a few years; were now obliged to spend above sixty millions extraordinary, and to re-accept of a stadtholder or captain-general of the States, who in order to govern with a more unlimited authority, began very prudently by putting to death two or three dozen of the principal magistrates and officers of the republic, and amongst the rest the grand pensionary de Wit, and his brother. All which proceeded from the pernicious parsimony of the republic, and the want of discernment in its magistrates and governors, in not entertaining suitable notions of the power and strength of the neighbouring potentates with whom they might probably have to deal.

On the other hand, had the king contented himself with demolishing the fortifications of the several places he had taken in this campaign, and led

his army back to France, and then disbanded his troops, he would fully have answered his intention of humbling the Hollanders, to the great satisfaction of their neighbours, and would never have occasioned any fear or distrust in other powers of his making conquests upon them afterwards; Spain and England being satisfied, no other power would have stirred a step to assist the Dutch in their revenge, and the war would have ended of itself.

But this did not at all answer the intent of Louvois. His rival Colbert, who had the management of the finances, and was minister for home affairs, would have acquired more credit and reputation than ever in time of peace; therefore Louvois was resolved to protract the war: and for this purpose he found it necessary to persuade the king to keep all the places he had won from the Dutch. As he knew this would induce the Spaniard and the house of Austria to enter into a strict league for obliging the victor to give up his conquests, and to humble him in his turn, so that they might no longer have any thing to fear from a neighbour who seemed to have such a humour for making the most of his power and strength.

Here Louvois gained two important points for himself: first, he accustomed the king to relish his schemes for war and conquests; and next he made the rest of Europe entertain an idea of his master, as a prince of immense power, who without any regard

regard to the execution of his treaties, aspired to lord it over all Europe; and it is certain, that this ambitious minister succeeded but too well in his designs; for he convinced all the world of the power, ambition, and faithlessness of his master. And this general opinion was the chief motive made use of by the prince of Orange, afterwards king of England, for uniting all Europe against us in the famous league of Augsbourg fifteen or sixteen years afterwards, which at several different times brought the state to the very brink of destruction, and from which it would never have been able to have recovered itself, but for certain fortuitous events that seemed almost miraculous: and obliged the king in spite of himself to discover his own weakness. And indeed in 1712, forty years afterwards, all Europe had sufficient proofs, that there was no longer any thing to fear from a power that was once so formidable.

The council was so taken up this year with the war, and the fresh preparations making for the ensuing campaign, that they issued no edicts for the advantage of home affairs, but only such as related to the taxes necessary for carrying on the war with vigour.

It would seem by the pleasure the king took in the success of his arms in Holland, that his chief aim in going to war with that republic, was to shew them and all Europe the greatness of his

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power; but such a design has nothing glorious or praise-worthy in it: for a prince to pride himself upon being more powerful than his neighbours, is a false glory and a childish vanity; true glory, which is the most valuable of all distinctions, is only to be acquired by making the best use possible of a superiority in power, for procuring happiness to his subjects, and conciliating the esteem and love of his neighbours.

I allow, that if the king had confined himself to the intention of avenging his neighbours on the Dutch, for the imperious and insolent behaviour of their magistrates and directors; and had humbled that proud nation by divesting it of part of its strong-holds, it would have been an action worthy the greatness of his power: but when at the conferences for peace, the king talks of being indemnified, and of keeping the places he had taken, the least clear-sighted will soon perceive, that it was neither the public good, nor the cause of justice that actuated him, but a mean and sordid self-interest: he ceases then to be the hero; his sentiments are no other than those of a common man, and his conceptions not a degree removed above the lower class of people, from amongst whom he generally chose his ministers.

Had the king undertaken to protect the weaker states against the stronger, and to compel the latter to do them justice, he would equally have had
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the pleasure of shewing Europe his great power, and have likewise enjoyed the glory of employing that power in a manner useful and beneficial to the public, as well as demonstrating his real disinterestedness and love of justice. This is the most noble purpose to which a sovereign can employ his power, because it is an act of the greatest beneficence to right the oppressed at one's own expence: this is true heroism; this the real glory that will be for ever unknown to those who think like the vulgar.

It is a truth, not difficult to be conceived, that it is not a superiority of power alone that is praiseworthy, but the generous use made of that superiority for the support and administration of justice, the alleviating of the ills of mankind and the encreasing of their happiness.

Tiberius, Nero and Attila, whose characters are so deservedly infamous, were possessed of a much greater superiority of power over their neighbours than Lewis XIV; but are they for that more praise-worthy? and yet this truth, all plain and simple as it is, was not known to Lewis till towards the latter end of his life, when seeing his power so greatly reduced, and himself upon his death-bed, he earnestly recommended to the young prince his successor not to imitate him in his ill-advised schemes of war.

But after all I am convinced, that if any one had asked him, if he thought these maxims here laid down to be just, he would have answered in the affirmative. And yet of what use is it to forming the conduct to know a truth barely in a speculative and abstracted manner? what force can it have against the prejudices of the vulgar who think in a quite different manner, and imagine nothing so fine and glorious as to be possessed of a superiority of power, and to make it felt at the expence of a thousand evils to others.

But I must confess, that great indulgence is to be given in this respect to kings of a common stamp, who have not had the advantage of the best education; which teaches its pupils in what real virtue consists, and points out to them those actions and undertakings that deserve a glorious reputation and just praise.

This was the case of Lewis XIV. whose education had during his minority been most shamefully neglected with respect to the great and important truths of government; is it then to be wondered at, if he did not acquire a habit of virtue sufficiently strong to resist the torrent of false prejudices from the crowd of gay courtiers and artful flatterers that surrounded him at this time?

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What has been said will sufficiently prove, that a prince, who would play a distinguished part on the theatre of Europe, by preventing wars and doing justice to the weak, must observe several conditions : 1. He must always keep himself strongly armed, 2. He must be perfectly well acquainted with the causes of disputes between other powers. 3. He must as a just king declare to them, that he will side with him that shall abstain from hostilities, and offer to submit to an arbitration. 4. As mediator he must never make any demands for indemnification of charges and losses, but content himself with the sole pleasure of having procured peace and union amongst his neighbours. 5. Lastly, He must have solely in view the honour of having saved them those expences and losses that are the unavoidable consequences of war.

But it can only be a great man who can think in this manner ; one of a common stamp can never mount so high ; especially when his ministers, though possessed of understanding and abilities, have low and vulgar souls.

1673.

The republic of Holland represented in such strong terms to the courts of Spain and Vienna, and the elector of Brandenburg, how much it was

was their mutual interest to put a check to the progress of the French arms, that they at length declared in its favour; therefore France contented itself with keeping possession of Maestricht, and abandoned the rest of the places it had taken from the Dutch, to secure its own frontiers.

There were several engagements at sea this year which as is generally the case, brought great expence with them and little advantage.

The Germans took Bonn from the elector of Cologne, who was in alliance with France, and each side began the war with an equal succession of good and bad fortune, but this equality made it the more destructive, as it was likely to be more lasting.

No one was surpris'd at this confederacy between the neighbouring powers against France, as it had been generally expected. The king himself might have looked upon it as certain a year before; in consequence of which he might have avoided giving the alarm to all Europe, and incurring the character of a restless, ambitious, turbulent and unjust neighbour, who wanted to carry it with a high hand over every one round him, and subject them to his laws; he might have prevented the necessity of ruining his people by additional taxes, and have employed himself on the contrary in protecting their trade, improving his own

own revenue, taking care of the education of youth, and instituting a number of wholesome regulations for the good of his kingdom within doors and without; in the number of which the establishment of the plan of scrutiny with its improvements would have deservedly held the first rank.

But Louvois, newly made secretary at war, endeavoured to inspire him with notions the very reverse of these; he prompted him to a desire of subjecting his neighbours by the superiority of his arms; which was impossible to be done without an equal degree of superiority in finances and extent of trade; considering that he had to deal with a people superior to himself in numbers, and assisted by the money of two rich and trading nations.

Upon this false plan however did Louvois drag the king into a rash and hazardous war, by which he only gained an odious character with his neighbours, and the reputation of being the oppressor of his own subjects, instead of the noble one he might have acquired by a different conduct at home and abroad.

Colbert this year set on foot a plan that was of great use to the state; this was the *Royal Garden*, where public lectures are read in anatomy, chymistry and botany.

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This wise minister likewise persuaded the king to issue an ordonnance relating to trade, and another touching the expences and fees in the courts of justice, which remedied a great number of petty abuses that had begun to gain ground.

There was another ordonnance for establishing a register-office in every bailiwick or seneschalship, where every person that is desirous of having a mortgage upon an estate in that bailiwick, is to cause his title to the same to be entered; but as on account of the times, the interest of the public was less concerned in this edict, than the raising of the necessary taxes and subsidies for carrying on this foolish and unjust war, the king met with some opposition in getting it inregistered in parliament; for the best laws, when made with a view to lay new burthens upon the subjects, soon become hard and hurtful to them.

1674.

The belligerent powers made choice of Cologne for holding the conferences for a peace, under the mediation of the king of Sweden; but the emperor, incensed at the prince of Furstemberg, who as plenipotentiary from the elector of Cologne, was perpetually thwarting all his designs, caused him to be seized and carried away from Cologne to Neustad, where he was confined in prison. This outrage

outrage committed against the law of nations immediately broke up the conferences, which were not resumed till three years after at Nimeguen.

In the mean time, the king made a conquest of the Franche Comté, before the Imperialists could pass the Rhine; which at last they effected to the number of seventy thousand men, and towards the latter end of the campaign took up their winter quarters in Alsace.

Mr. de Turenne suffered them to settle themselves there unmolested; but in the month of December he got together his forces, and made such fine marches, that coming upon them by Bèfort with fifteen or sixteen thousand men he beat up their quarters one after another, and obliged them to go in search of others in their own country to the eastward of the Rhine.

All good Frenchmen were greatly disgusted, that the best general in France was kept so bare of troops; but Louvois hated Mr. Turenne, and entertained a contemptible notion of the great military skill he pretended to have acquired.

This minister had infused a notion into the king of directing the operations of his armies by schemes of his own planning to be dispatched occasionally by couriers; but this was attempting impossibilities; for the opportunity of engaging or avoiding
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an enemy is lost in a few hours, and the plan of operation frequently requires to be changed according to the occurrences of the day. Accordingly Mr. Turenne would sometimes pocket the dispatches he received from court, and not read them till the next day, saying, "That those who are " on the spot are the only proper judges of what " should be done from day to day."

The Dutch fitted out a prodigious naval armament at a very great expence; it was said, that they had near an hundred sail of men of war and armed vessels, but they met with no success in their attempts upon Belleisle and Martinico; and thus they were at the fruitless expence of upwards of twenty millions: and indeed this was a year of great expence and very little profit on all sides, nor were either party a jot nearer terminating their differences.

This year there appeared no one establishment for the public good; the whole attention of the council and the whole stock of the finances were devoted to war alone: so it may be said, that if the king entered into this war with an eye to the public good, he took such steps as were the very reverse of his design, and if he did not do it with that intent, he did not deserve the name of a good king.

It was this year, that the prince (of Condé) fought the terrible battle of Senef in Flanders, in which so many brave soldiers and officers were killed on both sides without bringing any thing to a determination.

Colbert, seeing the flames of war increase more and more, was obliged to look about for the best means of supporting the kingdom under the additional expences in which it was involved. So that nothing appeared now but burfal edicts for raising money; eight new masters of the requests were made; and several new offices for gauging; a tax was laid upon the officers of the justiciary, another upon pewter, gold and silver plate, and deeds of exchange. There likewise came out new creations of above three hundred petty officers in the several ports in Paris, and a creation of new procurators. Also a duty upon stamped paper, another upon tobacco, another upon conveyances, and a tax upon the woods in Normandy under the *name* of the thirds or tenth penny; new salaries were raised upon the judges offices, and a million of annuities upon the city.

This latter expedient of raising annuities upon the city, appeared in the end to be the most easy and least burthensome of any. Such were the unhappy

happy consequences of a most expensive war undertaken without any just foundation.

1675.

Monfieur de Turenne carried on the war till the end of January in this year; and as the king, by the advice of Louvois, allowed him but very few troops for the summer operations, he was obliged to exert his profound military abilities to win from the enemy in the winter what they had gained of him in the summer by their superiority of numbers; accordingly, he always had the advantage of being the first in the field, by drawing together his forces during the winter season; which Montecuculli, the German general, a man of great parts, found impracticable for him, because the colonels and other officers of the German regiments are much less under command to their generals, than those of the French are to theirs.

However, Mr. de Turenne, having passed the Rhine in the month of July, was in hopes of being able to beat Montecuculli, notwithstanding his great superiority; with this view he had made his dispositions in such a manner that he was heard to say, in speaking of the enemy; "They are just come where I would have them;" but being mounted upon an eminence to discover their motions, and give orders for the placing of

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of a battery, the enemy who were decamping made a last discharge from one of their batteries, which was in the neighbourhood of that eminence, when a random shot that was nearly spent carried off the arm of M. Saint-Hilaire, lieutenant-general of the artillery, and entered M. de Turenne's breast, who fell dead upon the spot. He was sixty-four years old.

Such was the glorious end of this famous general, who in my opinion would have had a just claim to the title of *Great*, had he not imprudently deserted the king's party twenty years before, to follow the foolish ambition of an elder brother, during the civil wars of the league in the minority of Lewis XIV.

The truly great man will never give into the designs or projects of those who are for troubling the domestic peace of their country by factions and rebellion. On the contrary, he will be always ready to exert his utmost abilities to crush faction in its infancy, and restore quiet to the state, that is never so sorely wounded as by a war amongst its citizens.

The faults of a prime minister may without doubt occasion many evils to the state, but these are nothing in comparison to the miseries that are caused by a civil war; therefore I shall always consider, as an indelible blot in M. Turenne's life, his

having followed, though but for a short time, the party of faction and the disturbers of the public peace, and having fought against his country under the standard of that rebellious rout that armed the hands of Frenchmen against Frenchmen.

Montecuculli was acquainted with M. de Turenne's death an hour after it happened; upon which he dispatched orders for bringing back the baggage which had begun to file off: as for the two lieutenants, who commanded under M. de Turenne they thought of nothing but making the best of their way over the Rhine again with the army under their command, and keeping themselves upon the defensive in Alsace. This melancholy event produced a general consternation in the army, and soon after throughout the whole kingdom: Louvois alone looked upon himself as a gainer by the death of this commander. The prince of Condé, who had the command in Flanders, was appointed to the command of M. de Turenne's army, which was immediately reinforced with twelve or fifteen thousand men.

The remainder of the campaign was passed in an equal succession of advantages and losses, by the armies on both sides.

To support the prodigious expence in which Louvois had engaged the kingdom, it was found
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necessary to impose new taxes, which became at last so heavy, especially that on the stamped paper, as to excite a revolt among the people at Rennes and Bourdeaux; and as the parliaments of these two towns were suspected to have favoured the insurgents they were transferred to other places, and the tumult was by this means appeased.

The English withdrew their troops from our army, and their king offered himself as mediator for bringing about a peace between the parties; this was accepted of, and Nimeguen was agreed upon as the place of conference: both sides began to be heartily weary of the expences and fatigues of the war; but this inclination was not productive of any suspension of hostilities.

No regulation, no establishment appeared in favour of domestic affairs, but a burfal edict was issued for taxing such as had purchased lands of the clergy.

The king likewise raised another million of annuities on the Hôtel de Ville of Paris, and secured the payment on the revenue of his farms; he also created another million on the yearly salaries of the officers of the judiciary which they were obliged to purchase against their wills. These two articles brought the king in upwards of forty millions. This produced a standing charge of two millions a-year to the state for ever.

It must be owned, that the king had now the pleasure of being fully revenged on the Dutch for the affront they had offered him by their two medals; but it must be allowed, at the same time, that it cost the French very dear to purchase this pleasure for their king.

1676.

The conferences for peace were now opened at Nimeguen; the plenipotentiaries of the mediatory powers made proposals to both parties: but the affair went on very slowly, owing to the plenipotentiaries not having procured a suspension of arms; therefore the various successes of the armies produced some change every week in their proposals. And they could not procure such a suspension, as not having received orders from their respective courts to declare against that party who should oppose it, and yet the English and the Swedes were sufficiently powerful to have made the balance incline greatly, if not altogether, in favour of the party they espoused.

This year died the famous Dutch admiral de Ruyter, of a wound he received in a sea-fight with the French near the island of Sicily: he was one of the ablest commanders the States had. Soon after his death, Du Quesne the French admiral burnt several of their men of war at Palermo; a misfortune

tune which would not have befel them had de Ruyter been living.

The French retook the isle of Cayenne from the Dutch, together with the adjacent country, lying almost directly under the line, of which we are still in possession: these countries on account of the great heat of the climate might be rendered very profitable to us, by rearing such trees and plants as only grow in very warm countries, as the trees and plants of cotton, cocoa, pepper, nutmeg, cinnamon, coffee, tobacco, sugar-canes, &c. and it is much better to have these commodities from one's own colonies than to purchase them of strangers: first, because our money does not go out of the kingdom; and in the next place, because it is a useful way of employing a number of families that are not otherwise so usefully employed, or are even destitute of any employment at all.

The Dutch, in the last three years of the war, had fallen upon an effectual method of inducing several of the powers of Europe to enter into a league offensive and defensive with them; which was by paying each of them a considerable yearly subsidy for the maintenance of their troops. This they did to the Emperor, Spain, the elector Palatine, the king of Denmark, the princes of the house of Brunswic, the bishop of Munster, the prince of Neubourg, and some others; but as these subsidies

became at length very burthenfome, they wanted to get rid of them as foon as poffible, and perceiving that their allies made ufe of feveral pretences to delay fending their plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, the States declared, that they would no longer continue to pay thofe fubfidies, but make a feparate peace for themfelves, unlefs they (the allies) came to a fpeedy conclufion with the French court, which feemed no lefs earneft than the Dutch in procuring a pacification.

No regulation, no eftablifhment, no amendment in home affairs, and yet there were feveral confiderable amendments wanting.

1677.

The king, who knew that the Germans never think of quitting their winter quarters till the month of June; took the field in perfon the beginning of February: he had taken care to provide very large magazines for the ufe of his army during the preceding fummer and autumn feafons.

He laid fieve to Valenciennes, a ftrongly fortified place, in the beginning of March, and took it by a lucky ftroke of fortune. The French, having beaten the Spaniards from one of their outposts, difcovered in the night a fmall path leading through the ditch to a little door that was left open; here they found a fmall ftair-cafe to
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go up upon the ramparts; by this stair-case the officer of the guard conveyed between two and three hundred men upon the ramparts, who immediately seized the guard of one of the gates, lowered the draw-bridge, and called to their companions without to enter; while they made a stand against some of the troops of the garrison that came down upon them: the troops from without presently entering made themselves masters of the place; which the king, by his great authority prevented from being pillaged by the soldiers; had it not been for this lucky accident, the siege would have lasted at least six weeks.

After this the king reduced Cambray and St. Omer in Flanders, and Fribourg in Germany; but these successes only made his neighbours more earnest to form a general league against such a formidable enemy, and crush him at once with a superior force; and determined the English to declare against him, if he refused to hearken to the conditions which they proposed.

The wiser part of the nation were of opinion, that all this expence might have been saved, and the king have done better in keeping upon the defensive, and leaving the allies to be at the charges of the campaign, or even to have suffered them to take a place or two towards the end of the season, which he might easily have retaken the ensuing

spring before they could stir out of their winter quarters.

Be that as it will; it is certain, that the declaration made by the English plenipotentiaries at the congress, that from mediator their nation would become principal, and thus throw a great superiority into the enemy's scale, obliged our court the following year to accept of their proposals for an accommodation.

About this time died the chancellor d'Aligre, whose place the king gave to old Le Tellier, secretary of state for the department of war, and father to Louvois. He was a finished courtier, and had fully instructed his son in the art of flattering the king's vanity in all respects, and of making him believe he was the wisest and ablest prince in Europe: nay, he carried it to such a length as to persuade him, that he knew more of the art of war than the most able generals, and that he was the author of every good and great scheme that had met with success: this made the king always better pleased to transact business with Le Tellier and his son, than with any of his other secretaries of state: but Le Tellier had yet another admirable art; which was that of hinting to the king in their private conversation, every thing that he thought most likely to inspire him with a jealousy and distrust of those his majesty seemed to have any particular degree of esteem for.

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One day the king was talking to him of the late M. de Harlai, and praising his great genius and remarkable integrity ; adding, that he would make an excellent chancellor. Le Tellier seemed to agree with all his majesty said, and even backed it with some commendations of his own ; *but yet*, added he, *I am afraid, Sire, the wax would grow soft in his hands.* The king presently conceived by these words, that Harlai would be apt to make objections when required to put the seal to some of his edicts, and never afterwards thought of him as a successor to Le Tellier.

He used to remain sometimes a quarter of an hour in private with the king after the council had broke up, and this time he generally spent in doing ill offices to some one or other, but always under the mask of asking his majesty's advice as an oracle of wisdom and prudence.

One day the count de Grammont, another courtier as cunning and corrupt as himself, seeing him come out of the king's closet, in a gayer humour than usual, said to a friend that stood by ; " Me-
" thinks I see a fox that has just been devouring
" half a dozen chickens in a hen-roost, and comes
" out licking his lips after it."

He was said to hold it for a maxim, *That a judicious traveller will always cut down the trees on both*

both sides the road, lest they should chance to fall across his way and hinder him in his journey.

And this is a maxim adopted by all those who are well versed in the villainies of a court; thus they have a great advantage over the honest and virtuous man in making a fortune in that theatre of corruption; and it is a miracle to see a man of virtue or talents succeed or continue in it any considerable time. Vice and falshood quickly banish virtue and sincerity from the door.

This year likewise the first president Lamoignon died: he was a magistrate deservedly in the greatest repute for his honesty and great parts. On being appointed first president in 1660, he waited upon cardinal Mazarin to thank him for his promotion, who made him this spirited answer, *Sir, you owe me no thanks; for had I known a man in France more worthy of the place than yourself, I should have recommended him to the king.*

This great lawyer had for many years been engaged with a number of the most able people of his profession in compiling a body of the French law; a work which had it been finished would have greatly diminished the causes and number of law-suits: as might be yet done if the court would erect a perpetual office of this kind under the direction of the chancellors.

A new million of annuities were raised on the city.

New taxes were laid on the commissions of controul.

But no new regulation was made in any part of the state policy. The attention of the ministers were wholly taken up with war ; and as for other able politicians, either they would not work without being rewarded for it, which the king did not think of doing ; or else the ministers rejected the good plans and memorials that were offered, for want of leisure to examine them, disinterestedness enough to forward the labours of others, authority to get them approved of by the council, or money to carry them into execution.

1678.

In order to make the Dutch and the Spaniards more ready to conclude a separate peace, the king resolved to reduce Ghent and Ypres in the beginning of the spring before the enemy could possibly take the field : accordingly in March he made himself master of both places ; and to bring matters to a more speedy conclusion, he drew up a set of articles which he signed and sent to the plenipotentiaries as his final determination : the Dutch were very pressing with the allies to accept
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of these articles; declaring, that as the conditions therein appeared to them to be reasonable, they would absolutely sign a separate peace the tenth of August, which they accordingly did the very evening of that day.

But the prince of Orange, who was captain-general of the States, attempted with fifty thousand men to surprise the French army under M. de Luxembourg in their camp at St. Denis in Flanders; and actually gave them battle the fourteenth of August, notwithstanding the peace had been signed four days before.

His plan was, that if he gained a complete victory he should be able to procure a better peace for the allies, and if he lost the day, that which had been already signed, would still remain the same: but this was the reasoning of a young prince of eight and twenty, who had a personal hatred to the French king, and was on the eve of losing the greatest part of his authority by the conclusion of a peace. The success of the battle was nearly equal on both sides, and the following day the peace was proclaimed in both armies: however the court of Spain did not sign till a month afterwards.

Peace being thus signed with the Dutch and the Spaniards, the king had only to deal with the Emperor, the king of Denmark, the elector of Brandenburg,

denbourg, and some other of the German princes, and had no other reason for carrying on the war than that of obliging these powers to restore the places they had taken from the king of Sweden his ally.

Thus ended a war that had continued for six years, during which the king had run his kingdom in debt by annuities, or drawn from his subjects upwards of two hundred millions of livres, at eight and twenty livres to the mark, which is above three hundred and fifty millions of our present money, at nine and forty livres to the ounce; and lost upwards of eighty thousand men, while his gains estimated at the utmost did not exceed twenty millions.

But his greatest loss was, that of his reputation as a good king and a good neighbour; for he was now looked upon by all Europe as a prince of an implacable, restless and ambitious disposition, who was resolved to aggrandise himself at the expence of his neighbours, without paying the least regard to promises or treaties; a character to which he owed most of the troubles that distracted the latter part of his life; and that, together with the war he afterwards entered into, and which produced the famous league of Augsbourg, where all the powers of Europe combined against him, was the source of the many calamities that distressed his kingdom, and of the ruin of an infinite number
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of individuals who had given the government credit. Had he not then better have wisely overlooked the impertinent vanity of the two Dutch medals; have dropped all thoughts of violating his promise of renunciation to the queen's rights in Germany; and have assumed the character of general mediator of Europe, which was so repeatedly and wisely advised him by cardinal Mazarin? but Louvois was jealous of Colbert's reputation and influence, and desirous of enriching himself: he wanted to be sole minister, which he could not hope for without a war; and it was of little consequence to him in attaining his ends, that his master lost his reputation as a just prince, and made himself hated and detested by all Europe; that most of the noble families in the kingdom lost their friends and relations; and that the people were reduced to the last degree of misery by excessive taxes. His whole aim was to heap up riches, acquire an unbounded authority in the state, and satisfy his excessive ambition, which was the source of all our calamities from the first to the last.

1679.

The Emperor was now grown sensible, that it would be impracticable for him to carry on the war alone against the French, who had just added Nuits upon the Rhine to their other conquests; resolved at length to sign the peace, which he did on the fifth of February.

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The elector of Brandenburg, from whom the French had taken divers places, was, as well as the king of Denmark, very unwilling to give up all that they had gained of Sweden at so great an expence, but seeing it would be in vain to hold out, they likewise signed four or five months afterwards, and they lost all the fruits of the great expences thus had been at, and which they might have spared themselves had they accepted the neutrality which was offered them.

If England, Denmark, Sweden, Brandenburg, Hanover, and the other princes of Germany had entered into a league three or four years sooner, for declaring themselves mediators, and obliging both parties to come to a suspension of arms, and afterwards to agree to reasonable terms, by threatening to declare against that party which should refuse, they would immediately have procured a cessation of hostilities, and afterwards have brought about a pacification; for they would have been able to give greatly the superiority to that side on which they should declare themselves.

But to bring this about, it would have been necessary for them to have been at the expence of an armament; but few princes have discernment enough to perceive, that a necessary expence is always the least expence; and what can be more necessary than that which puts it in their power to
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be the judges and arbitrators of neighbouring states, by which they secure their own property while they are defending that of others.

The most prudent and honourable step a prince can take with respect to neighbouring powers at variance is to extinguish the first sparks of war by procuring a cessation of arms; least the flame, should spread so as to endanger even the mediatory powers themselves; for the fire of war, when thoroughly lighted, is like a torrent which there is no resisting.

If we look back to the small beginnings of the great conquerors of antiquity we shall find, that it would have been a very easy matter for the neighbouring powers to have joined together, and have procured a mutual suspension of hostilities between the contending parties by the same menaces which we have mentioned above; whereas for want of taking that prudent step the fire of war broke out so impetuously, and spread in such a manner, as to envelop them all in the general devastation.

Colbert, who had the management of the navy in his department, prevailed upon the king to make a new harbour at Rochefort at the mouth of the Charante; thus there were expended upwards of twenty millions of livres, at twenty-eight livres the mark, on an harbour that is very badly situated, very unhealthy for the officers and sailors, and

and in which the ships rot very soon. It would have been much better to have laid out this sum to enlarge the harbour of Brest, or in making a new harbour at La Hogue in Lower Normandy, just at the eastern entrance of the Channel: but the inconveniencies of that at Rochefort were not foreseen, and the advantages of the others were not properly attended to; the private interest of some of Colbert's relations carried it above all other considerations, and an immense sum was expended to bring in very little profit.

This year Colbert restored and improved the colleges of law. This establishment was a much better one than that we have been speaking of; but he should at the same time have appointed a council, or perpetual office for forming by degrees a complete body of the French law upon each subject, as Justinian formerly did a body of the Roman law; and this council would have been a much better guide to the schools in their proceedings, and might have more readily fallen upon means for cutting short the many causes of law-suits.

This year died a man famous for the evils he brought upon the state in the civil wars, during the minority of Lewis XIV. and by the penance he did for it the last twelve or fifteen years of his life. This was the cardinal de Retz, who has written with so much elegance, and so little truth,

the history of those civil wars, wherein he paints himself as a dexterous incendiary, who, actuated by hatred and jealousy of cardinal Mazarin, engaged the parliament and city in a revolt against the court: he was a person of great understanding, and had a peculiar talent for caballing: but as he set a greater value upon posts of distinction than on true glory, he entered himself amongst the disaffected and seditious; so that it would have been better for his country if he had been born without talents, or had not been born at all; rather than have made an use of his talents so destructive to the peace and happiness of his fellow citizens.

The edict for the reform in the colleges of law was of great advantage to the kingdom; but, instead of the method of theses and examinations, it would have been better to have chosen by scrutiny, among thirty scholars in the upper class, those who were to be removed from the lower class.

Much at the same time an edict appeared against duelling, and another fixing the point of honour of marshals of France: but I have elsewhere demonstrated, that it would be first of all necessary to root out the impertinent notions the multitude have of dishonour.

The king, who was greatly intent on his buildings at Versailles, created two millions of annuities on

on the city, upon which he borrowed forty millions, leaving his people charged with a payment of two millions yearly, that did not bring an hundred livres clear. But in this the king struck directly at the basis of that great rule of God and nature, *Do to others as you would they should do unto you.* This is the first rule of society; it is equity itself; which holds good, and ever will do, with all mankind alike, whether between subject and subject, king and king, or king and people: the prince therefore who breaks this rule is no longer deserving the character of good and beneficent.

1680.

At the beginning of this year, the king disbanded a number of his troops; but Louvois persuaded him to employ the yearly sums saved by this article to the repairing and building of fortifications, so that the people found the subsidies very little diminished. Accordingly, orders were given for fortifying Saarlouis, Landau, Nimeguen and Phaulsbourg, on the side of Germany. How much more worthy of the king would it have been to have laboured for the advantage and security of his kingdom, by establishing the diet of Europe for terminating by mediation all future differences between him and his neighbours; and to have eased his people of their burthen of taxes, that they might be more at liberty to renew their trade and agriculture: but Louvois, who was

in hopes of reviving the war again, had no desire to take any steps that were likely to render the peace more durable.

Had the king upon the conclusion of the war made some genteel advances to the several powers of Europe, he might have re-established his credit and reputation with them, and have made some wise and prudent alliances, that would have more effectually secured him in the possession of his frontiers than all those vast fortifications he raised at such an immense expence many of which he was obliged to give up in the end.

By being thus in alliance with all parties for the general safety, he would have had no enemies to fear, and consequently no places to fortify; and only have had ministers to keep at the several courts as mediators, which would not have amounted to the twentieth part of what it cost him in fortifications.

Seignelai, Colbert's son, was now secretary of state with the department of the marine: this was another young ambitious man, who wanted likewise to make himself of importance, and even necessary in the government; and being possessed of a great share of eloquence, he soon gained an ascendancy over the king's mind: he had as little of the pacific in his disposition as Louvois; and had very early taken it into his head to be a marshal

shal of France, and duke and peer. Thus Lewis was a great part of his life the tool of these two ministers, who, instead of endeavouring to increase the welfare of their country, and the reputation of their master, by acts of justice and beneficence, thought of nothing but satisfying their own private interest, and having their houses dignified, and their families enriched at the expence of both king and nation.

This year the dauphin espoused the princess of Bavaria, by whom he had three sons, the youngest who died without issue. The eldest, who was duke of Burgundy, became dauphin upon the death of his father; and was married to the princess of Savoy, by whom he had Lewis XV. the present reigning prince. The second son is still king of Spain.

Louvois set on foot an establishment this year, which made the king very odious to all the petty princes of Germany, and mediately to the other nations of Europe; and I am persuaded this was designed the minister to renew the war as soon as possible in Germany, from whence he judged it would quickly spread to the other neighbouring states.

He established a court of jurisdiction at Metz, and another at Brissac, to enquire into the rights of a number of German princes and lords that held

lands in Alsace. The pretensions of Louvois were certainly justly founded in the main; but what gave the greatest disgust was the haughty and insolent behaviour of the judges of these courts to those who complained of their decrees, and the harsh manner in which they put them in execution. The procurator-general of the court at Metz was a person of great abilities and discernment, but a stranger to all principles of justice, and wholly devoted to L^ouvois's will. This man contributed more than all the others together to make the king odious, by the many unjust and sharp prosecutions he issued out against the German nobility. His majesty would certainly have condemned such proceedings, had he been sensible how many enemies they raised to his person and government among the Germans.

New laws against games of chance, but very ill observed.

A new million of annuities on the city at the twentieth penny for every twenty millions, and this notwithstanding its being a time of profound peace; not to form leagues for the defence of the nation, but to make new fortifications, and carry on the buildings at Versailles.

1681.

This year they began to transport goods by the canal of Languedoc, from the Garonne to the

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port of Cette in the Mediterranean. The heirs of M. Ricquet have the care of keeping it in repair, and receive a certain duty for every bale of goods, boat, &c.

The canal of Orleans, which from the Loire runs through the town of Orleans, and empties itself into the Seine near Montargis, was first undertaken by a company who enjoyed the profits arising from it for above thirty years, in right of the late MONSIEUR the king's brother. The present duke of Orleans receives them now, and it is said, they bring him in near an hundred thousand ounces of silver per annum, all expences paid.

We have not a sufficient number of these canals in France: the government should always be at the first expence in making them. They would greatly facilitate trade, and at once enrich the merchant, and save money to the consumers; as the call for commodities would be greater by reason of their being so easily come at, and the largeness of the consumption would allow of a considerable abatement in the price.

But here it would be necessary, that the perpetual office that had the charge of the highways should also have the inspection of these canals:

1. For settling the preference with respect to those that are most useful.
2. To encourage and re-

ward those projectors, and workmen, that should invent the best and most useful plans. 3. For adjudging or regulating by commissioners all damages, and for obviating the other obstacles to trade by a settled decree. 4. For making proper abatements in the several duties.

This year we had several disputes with the court of Rome. The chief was with regard to the right of *Regale* which Innocent XI. disputed with the king. These disputes continued for a long time.

This year produced two events that served the powers of Europe, as incontestable proofs of the king's insatiable desire of increasing his territories, against all justice, and the rights of neighbouring states, viz. the seizing of Straßbourg on the Rhine, and the purchasing of Casal on the Po from the duke of Mantua.

Louvois was rejoiced at every occasion that offered to divert his master from the thoughts of making his people happy by a lasting peace, who on his side seemed to regard as nothing the preservation of peace in Europe; so that several states already began to form leagues offensive and defensive against him, while Louvois took especial care to blow the coals of anger and revenge in the king's breast. He had the art likewise to rouse the indignation of the neighbouring powers, by a most haughty, impertinent and menacing way of answering their representations :

presentations: they very naturally complained of this to one another. These complaints were laid hold of by the artful minister to incense the king more against them; and they pave the way for a new dispute.

Though all as yet was peace, there appeared a new exaction of two millions at the twentieth penny on the city, and the officers and placemen. This was applied to building the palace of Versailles, on a most unwholsome spot, instead of building it at St. Cloud on the Seine, or at Charenton on the conflux of the two rivers.

No establishment to lessen the national, or to add to its advantages; and yet this should be the object of all good kings.

1682:

This year there was erected a public company for young gentlemen destined for the army, Louvois established a fund for maintaining six hundred.

But in every company consisting of one hundred and fifty cadets, there should be five classes of thirty in each, who should lodge, eat, converse, and go through their exercises and studies together; that it might be the readier known which amongst them were the best behaved, the most

most studious, intelligent, upright, generous, polite, eloquent, patient and resolute; when it was necessary to make choice of these by scrutiny at the king's command to fill the vacant posts of lieutenant or ensigns.

In each of these classes of thirty there should be three officers elected by scrutiny, with a salary somewhat above the ordinary pay. And as our money has suffered an alteration in its value, the ten sol piece of 1682, going for sixteen sols in 1730, the ordinary pay of these cadets, should be fixed at sixteen sols, if ever this establishment should be set on foot again.

The Spanish garrison in Luxembourg having committed several outrages in some of the villages in France, complaint thereof was made to the governor of the Spanish Low Countries; but he refusing to make good the damages sustained, Louvois managed matters so well by his artful discourses with the king, and the memorials he caused to be transmitted to himself on this head, that he obtained an order to bombard Luxembourg; which he immediately put in execution. This exploit made a great noise in Europe, as it looked like a fresh declaration of war. But the emperor being threatened with an invasion from the Turks, on the side of Hungary, swallowed the affront, so that Louvois had not the pleasure

sure of seeing the war lighted up a-new at least for this year.

At this time, the king had a great cause depending before him, in which he gave judgment against himself to his no small honour.

Several citizens had at different times made application to the Hôtel de Ville of Paris for leave to fill up the ditches, and level the ramparts, that made the town close and confined, and to erect new buildings on the spot. The king's officers maintained, that these places belonged to his majesty; and demanded in his name, that the houses, together with the ground they stood upon, should in consideration of a long possession of upwards of sixty years be adjudged to him. The opinions were divided, when the king told them, *he saw, that if the affair had not related to him, there would have been more opinions in favour of the proprietors, and therefore he would be himself their advocate, tho' against the interests of his own crown.* It is certain, that the possessions of these lands and houses would have brought him in four or five millions, and he stood in great need of such a supply for carrying on the works at Versailles: therefore this decree is deserving of the highest praise, and would to God he had adopted the same equitable sentiments every time he had occasion to deliberate on laying new taxes upon his subjects, or entering

ing into declarations of war against his neighbours ! *That day he was just and praise-worthy.*

There was a new creation of annuities made on the city ; though it was no longer a time of war.

This year the king made a regulation very beneficial to the kingdom, as it tended to curb the court of Rome in its perpetual endeavours to arrogate an authority in all catholic states. He convened an assembly of the clergy at the castle of St. Germain, consisting of thirty-four bishops, and a like number of abbots, as deputies of the second order ; who came to the following decisions :

I. That kings are not subject, in temporal matters, either directly or indirectly to any ecclesiastical power whatever.

II. That the pope has not, on any account whatever, a power of absolving the subjects from their oath of allegiance.

III. That the doctrine of the fourth and fifth sessions of the council of Constance, which declares general councils superior to the pope in spirituals, is and always has been incontestably that of the Gallican church.

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These propositions were registered on the twenty-third of March by all the courts of justice, and the faculties of theology; and by a royal ordinance every professor was to sign them before he could be admitted to teach publickly, to the no small joy of every good Frenchman and Catholic.

But there wants yet one emendatory clause, which is, that none of the clergy shall teach theology, without a permission had from the procurator-general of the parliament, who is not to grant it but to such as sign these articles; for it will be found that without some such stricture, the clergy, (and the monks especially) who consider themselves as immediately subject to the pope, would retain their errors under favour of his authority, and draw both ecclesiastics and seculars to side with them in a persuasion that is very dangerous to the public peace.

1683.

This year died, aged fifty-five, the queen consort Maria Theresa of Austria; a princess of a sweet temper and engaging disposition; she had but a middling understanding, and had little weight in the government, with which she never in the least concerned herself. Her loss was scarcely perceived by the kingdom, or even at court, unless by the mourning; nor indeed is it necessary or proper

proper, that queens, unless remarkable for penetration, a just way of thinking, and a strength of genius, should have any great degree of credit, or extend their power beyond their own household. Maria Theresa was to be commended, in that she always behaved with a dignity and decency becoming her station.

The king formed three camps this year on the frontiers of Germany; one in Burgundy, another on the Sarre, and a third on the Saone: and visited them all in person, which could not fail of alarming the princes of the Empire, and making them look upon him as a restless neighbour, who only waited a favourable opportunity of encroaching upon their rights and liberties: thus he gave his neighbours fresh subjects of apprehension, and consequently of hatred; which was the chief end aimed at by Louvois, who was now become the kind of minister most necessary to a prince, that was dreaded and hated by every neighbouring state.

At this time died Colbert, secretary of state for the finances, to which department he had annexed that of trade, and the promoting of arts and sciences. His place has not been filled up since his death, for those who have succeeded him have not produced the fourth part such useful labours, regulations and establishments as he did during his ministry. How much is it to be lamented, that

that he had not the management of the state, under a prince who had prided himself on his equity and moderation at home and abroad; one at once the lover and maker of peace! We should then have seen double the number of noble and useful establishments: but unhappily for the kingdom, the king hearkened much more to Louvois, that disturber of the public quiet, than to the pacific Colbert, whose schemes all tended to the increase of public and private riches, and the improvement and perfecting of the arts and sciences in France.

What the king had long wished for happened at this time. The emperor was attacked by the Turks. Their troops, to the number of two hundred thousand men, entered his dominions, and meeting with nothing to oppose their march, penetrated even to the gates of his capital, which they immediately invested. The duke of Lorraine, who was general of the empire, had just time enough to throw in a reinforcement of twelve or thirteen thousand men; and the emperor, who quitted the city upon receiving notice of the Ottoman troops presenting themselves before it, had scarcely got a mile on his way, when he was pursued by a detachment of the Turkish horse, and had it not been for the precaution of the marquis de Sebbeville, the French envoy, who accompanied the imperial court in its flight, and ordered the bridge, over which they passed, to be instantly

ly broken down, the emperor and his whole court would have been made prisoners.

As the Turks have few good engineers, they throw away a number of men to no purpose, and lose a great deal of time in their sieges. This was what saved Vienna. Their delays gave time for the arrival of John Sobieski, king of Poland, with fourteen thousand horse, who being joined by the duke of Lorraine with forty thousand foot, had only to present himself before the Ottoman multitude to put them into confusion, and compel them to abandon the siege in an inglorious manner.

Now appeared a tax that sorely galled numbers in the kingdom: it was laid upon the proprietors of all the little islands formed by the rivers throughout the kingdom.

To this was added, a new levy of five hundred thousand livres a-year upon the city at the twentieth penny, or five per cent. by which the king drew ten millions for his buildings; but no one useful edict made its appearance: Colbert was no more.

1684.

Seignelai, eldest son to the deceased Colbert, and lately made secretary of state for the marine, a vain-

a vain-glorious young fellow, jealous of the credit of Louvois, and burning with desire to please his royal master, earnestly sought every opportunity of making his arms as much dreaded and respected at sea, as Louvois had done by land.

And to say the truth, it was the favourite passion of Lewis XIV. to render himself formidable by a parade of his power and grandeur; not considering that he who makes himself feared, must make himself hated. In short, he seemed to be governed in the whole of his conduct, by the maxim of a famous tyrant, "Let me be hated, so that I am feared." *Oderint dum metuant.*

As the least resistance was a deadly wound to his vanity, he would sacrifice every thing to the pleasure of being revenged; and of shewing the world how much his anger was to be dreaded. This is a childish and dastardly way of thinking, and only fit for the low-minded and vulgar; who place all their pride in being looked upon as more powerful and formidable than the rest of their fellow creatures, without ever desiring to excel them in acts of beneficence.

The vulgar, for want of an education, cannot be supposed to know, that greatness of power is in no wise productive of true grandeur and excellence in a man: but every one knows, that

the excellence of power consists in the good use made of it; in forgiving those who from their ignorance of the greatness of our power, take opportunities of insulting or injuring us; by doing good even to those who refuse the homage due to our superiority, and by conferring benefits on those who are the most ready to forget them.

This is the idea we form of the all-wise and infinitely perfect Being.

On the other hand, what are our notions of Satan, the evil power; whom we regard as the eternal and irreconcilable foe of mankind? Do we not look upon him as a creature that strives to make himself dreaded for his great power and means of doing hurt? Is it not then a glorious resemblance for a mighty conqueror, that he is like the devil?

These ideas of the power of God and Satan, prove to us, that we are intuitively led to respect and love the beneficent power, and to dread, hate and detest that which exerts itself in doing hurt.

But would a powerful prince, who was desirous of making a good use of his power, think to do it, by committing the greatest injuries upon his neighbours, and loading his people with needless taxes? Would he not on the contrary do his utmost

most to render their lives as easy, happy and agreeable as possible?

If I am at such pains to prove, that Lewis XIV. was ignorant of the only true and valuable glory, which consists in imitating the all-perfect Being; and that he was on the contrary a worshipper of vanity, and the false glory of displaying the greatness of his power; it is, because that this false glory, which was almost his only fault, was the principle upon which he engaged in most of those undertakings, which occasioned the greatest misfortunes to himself and all Europe, and brought the heaviest calamities upon his people.

Seignelai, to render his master still more formidable, and therefore more hated, as a power that delighted in doing ill: undertook the bombardment of Genoa. It is certain, that this republic had on several occasions shewn a partiality for the Spanish monarchy then at enmity with France; but it is as certain, that she had very good reasons for such partiality. Most of the chief families, who had a share in the government, had large estates in the Milanese, which is a part of the Spanish dominions. The Spaniards are very punctual in their payments: Besides, the king of Spain was a peaceable, mild and inoffensive neighbour; and a strict observer of his promises. On the contrary, the French king was looked upon by all Europe, as a captious, restless, haughty, quarrel-

some and deceitful neighbour, one whom no promises could bind, no treaties confine; whose interest was the sole rule of his faith. Now, is it to be wondered at; that in such a case these people should prefer the just neighbour to the unjust one; the beneficent man to the oppressor and the lawless? He would have acted exactly in the same manner had he been in their places.

This was the crime of the Genoese, with respect to Lewis XIV; a crime that was very pardonable, had not the prejudice of education and evil councils prevented him in most of the actions of his life from weighing things by the golden scale of equity, and adhering to its first and principal rule: *Do not act towards one weaker than yourself in a manner that you would not chuse him to act towards you, were he the stronger power and you the feeble and defenceless.*

Seignelai, who was full of ambition, courage, spirit and activity, desirous to be at once both a general and a minister, anxious for every kind of glory, and sanguine in all his pursuits, and to these qualities added a bold and powerful eloquence; easily persuaded his master that his honour was concerned in taking revenge for the preference the republic of Genoa had shewn the Spaniards; and in order to give his remonstrances the greater weight, he painted the behaviour of the former in all the odious colours of ingratitude;

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as people whom the kings of France, predecessors of Lewis, had supported against the power of Spain when armed for their destruction.

What convinces me, that the subject of complaint against the republic of Genoa, was as ill founded and trifling as that about a dozen years before against the states of Holland, is the total silence of the press on this head; no memorial appeared setting forth the articles of complaint; no writer would take upon him to explain the cause of the difference, or wherein our nation had been injured, for fear of exposing himself to public ridicule; and after all, was it worth while to raise five or six millions extraordinary on our own people to do the Genoese a damage of about ten millions?

But Seignelai had the pleasure of procuring orders for the bombardment of Genoa: he accordingly sailed thither with fourteen men of war under his command; for though old Du Quesne had an undoubted right to command the men of war, as being the first officer in rank in the navy of France, yet he was obliged to obey Seignelai as secretary of state.

They arrived before Genoa; and at two different bombardments Du Quesne threw ten thousand bombs into the city, and reduced its magnificent edifices to a heap of rubbish. They then

made a descent, with four thousand soldiers, and burnt the beautiful suburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena, remarkable for its great number of sumptuous and elegant buildings. And now the Genoese fearing another attack, were obliged to humble themselves, and offered to sign whatever Seignelai required of them; who insisted, that the doge of Genoa and four of the principal senators should repair to Versailles, and there implore the king's clemency: this was complied with soon afterwards. Besides this, he engaged them by a private agreement to furnish the count de Fiesque, who was one of his friends, and had taken refuge in France, with one hundred thousand crowns. This count de Fiesque was a descendant of the famous Genoese Fieschi, who about one hundred years before endeavoured to wrest the government from Andrew Doria, and was drowned in the beginning of the insurrection:

The fame of the bombardment of Genoa and the submissions imposed upon that republic, rang through all Europe. This was precisely what the king had proposed to himself: but he did not consider how odious this enterprize made both him and his courtiers appear in the eyes of all Christian nations. And in fact this was one of the most powerful arguments made use of four years afterwards by William prince of Orange, king of England, for uniting all Europe in the famous league of Augsbourg, to pull down the great power

power of Lewis XIV. and reduce him to such a situation, that none of his neighbours might have any thing to fear from him for the future.

Louvois, who for his part was always desirous of having the management of some war, put the king upon attacking Luxembourg, which was bombarded, besieged and taken; together with Courtrai and Dixmude, all places in Flanders: while Spain, on the one hand too weak, the emperor too much taken up with the Turks, who had invaded his dominions, and the Dutch worn out with the expences of the former war, were not in a capacity to think of declaring against France: and so a truce for twenty years was signed between the Emperor and Lewis, by which the latter remained in possession of Strasbourg, which was now annexed to the kingdom of France, in like manner as the rest of Alsace: and has continued so ever since.

There was yet a fresh levy of five hundred thousand livres a-year for the augmentation of salaries, and a million of annuities on the city at the twentieth penny; and after that, twelve hundred thousand livres on the aids of salt duties: this made fifty-four millions at five per cent. Thus the king made an increase of two millions seven hundred thousand livres in the yearly taxes, and by little and little ruined his kingdom.

It is certain, that he was at a great expence in fortifications, but he might have saved this expence, could he have contented himself with acting the part of peace-maker of Europe; the noblest character any prince can possibly assume: but instead of being always ready to declare against the power that should attack or disturb the quiet of another, he was himself the first to commit hostilities.

A prince, whose conduct for a course of twenty years, had procured him the reputation of being just, patient and moderate; might, without giving the least umbrage to his neighbours, keep himself always powerfully armed, not with a design of invading the properties of others, but to be ready to prevent the more powerful from falling on the weaker states. Such a prince would receive millions of blessings from every side, and all the nations of the earth would sound his praise. What a glorious character for equity, integrity, wisdom, power and goodness might not Lewis then have left behind him in the world; instead of that of a dreaded and hated tyrant! but this proceeded from the want of judgment in those who had the care of his education, and should have taught him to distinguish true glory from that false glare which is the object of vulgar minds alone.

1685.

This year died, aged eighty-three, chancellor Le Tellier. He had when young been king's advocate at the Chatelet, and as he had a very retentive memory and a lively imagination, he soon acquired the character of a man of parts; and this laid the first foundation for his future fortune: for he was soon made principal commissary to the ministry, and afterwards secretary of war under cardinal Mazarin,

He was directed in his conduct through life, by no higher views than those of the commonalty; a desire of accumulating riches and honours, and of making profitable alliances for himself and family, by the most abject attention to the will and pleasure of the king, whom he wisely considered as the fountain of those lucrative dignities and employs which he was desirous of obtaining.

To compass these ends, he adopted two principal maxims, and these he invariably adhered to through the whole of his life; the first was to surpass all his competitors in studying what was pleasing or displeasing to the ruling power; and to make this the constant rule of his actions in every part of his ministry: the second was, by means of the most refined cunning, and by imperceptible yet sure methods, to injure in his royal master's opinion,

opinion, all those who enjoyed any considerable share of his favour.

A prime minister could not wish for a creature more assiduous and devoted to his will; or one more ready to flatter, and please by his observance and modesty: whenever his fruitful imagination struck out an excellent scheme, which was adopted by the minister, he, with the greatest resignation and submission, suffered him to enjoy the whole honour to himself. By these methods he basked in the sunshine of favour, and saw riches and honours daily heaped upon him; which he improved not a little by his natural oeconomy and parsimony: and was always well pleased to hear himself praised for the modesty and temperance of his table and equipage.

He fell upon the most effectual method of interesting the king in the care of his son's fortune; by persuading him, that Louvois was no other than his majesty's pupil; a creature of his own forming: and that whatever lights or knowledge he possessed, were originally borrowed from his royal master. In short, this was carried to such an height, that whenever the father pretended to be displeased with the son's conduct, the king must always charge himself with bringing about a reconciliation, or the old man would continue implacable. I look upon him to have been incomparably the most consummate courtier, and the

the best versed in the arts of flattery, of any that had appeared at court for some ages; but then on the other hand, he did not possess one single qualification of the good citizen; but treated justice and a regard for the public good as ridiculous notions, when they stood in the way of his ambition, or clashed with the aggrandizement of his fortunes.

He never had an idea of a more desirable object in life, than that of acquiring great rank and power for him and his. He could never be convinced, that the just and upright use of power and employs for the service of our country, is the only thing truly valuable in them. He set little by any man for his virtue or talents, and only esteemed him in proportion to his skill and address in making his fortune: if he ever made the good of his country his object, it was only so far as his own advantage, or that of his family was connected with it. This and this only was the ultimate end of all his views. He looked upon those who thought like himself, to be people of solid understanding; but laughed at those for fools and madmen who preferred the good of their country to their own private interest. Courts are too frequently filled with people of this mean stamp.

As his sole view was to make himself as agreeable as possible to the king, he never once contradict-

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ed him; nor ever discovered to him any truths that he thought likely to disgust.

A few hours before his death he put the seal to the celebrated edict which revoked that of Nantes*, which was followed by so many other edicts, declarations and arrets of council, and so many different ordinances against the Protestants, that it amounted to no less than a cruel persecution.

Such of the Catholics who reasoned the most sensibly and dispassionately, allowed, that the king's intention in this edict, which was to put a stop to the progress of this sect in the kingdom, was just, and becoming of a wise prince; but they were likewise of opinion, that the matter had been too much precipitated, and the methods made use of too violent; in obliging five hundred thousand families to leave the kingdom, with hearts full of rage at the cruelty and inhumanity of the government: and to transfer their persons, effects, trades and industry to other countries, and strengthen the hands of our enemies, who would by this means be made rich at our expence:

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* The old chancellor, when he signed this edict, repeated with an air of joy the first verse of the *Nunc dimittis*. He did not imagine, that what he then signed would be productive of the greatest mischief to France. See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. vol. ii. p. 196.

The event but too sadly verified the justness of this prediction; for the state received a dreadful wound by this edict, from whence it is as yet hardly recovered: not to mention how much the other nations of Europe held in detestation and contempt this piece of false politics of Lewis, founded on a spirit of injustice and persecution.

In Holland, the laws against the Catholics are no less severe than ours against Protestants in the France; inasmuch as they are denied the use of churches for the exercise of their religion: but then the civil magistrate has secret orders, to wink at their holding private meetings for that purpose; and even to protect them from insults in common with other citizens, so long as they shall demean themselves decently, and conform to the rules of government: in my opinion, this is a very prudent and wise piece of indulgence in the Dutch.

In return for this toleration, the Catholics in Holland make an handsome present to the civil magistrate: in France the wiser part of the Protestants procure a like indulgence of the curate of their parish, by giving him money to be distributed in alms to the poor; and this is an act of still greater advantage to the public weal.

1686.

The prince of Orange pretended to have personal cause of complaint against the king, in relation to his

his principality of Orange, and to some ill treatment that his minister Heinsius had received when in France. It is likewise said, he was piqued against the king for some slighting expressions that he had dropped concerning him, from one or all of these motives however, he proposed to the Dutch, a scheme for being revenged on France for the miseries she had made them suffer by the war of 1672. This scheme consisted in forming a powerful league against the French monarch; which was actually entered into some time after at Augsbourg. It was at first proposed only as a league of mutual defence between the contracting powers; though it was in fact an offensive one, for there were many more powers concerned in it than appeared publickly.

The reuniting of the German fiefs to the crown of France by the chambers of Metz and Brisac, with so little regard to the claims of many princes and noblemen of the empire; the seizing of Strasbourg; the bombarding and taking of Luxembourg; the persecution of the Protestants; the king's notorious breach of late as well as former treaties; the war of 1667 waged against Spain in defence of rights that had been solemnly renounced; the last invasion of Holland, and the bombardment of Genoa, had altogether excited such an universal abhorrence of Lewis and the French nation in all the princes and states of Europe, that

that the league was compleated almost as soon as it was proposed.

To this league were owing all the misfortunes that afterwards befel the king and kingdom: misfortunes which might have been easily avoided, had the king made it a rule to undertake nothing against his neighbours, that he would not willingly have had them undertake against him, supposing them possessed of a power equal or superior to his; and had he been wise enough to prefer the inestimable name of the just arbitrator, the powerful peace-maker of Christendom, and the grand benefactor of Europe, to the pompous but vain title of conqueror; a title that was to be acquired only by being the grand disturber of the peace of other nations.

At this time died a prince illustrious for his great military talents, consummate courage, and numerous victories. This was the prince of Condé, who had won four battles in the minority of Lewis XIV, and yet afterwards, during the same minority, foolishly put himself at the head of the malecontents; and then, for want of rebels, joined the Spaniards, who were the only enemies his country had at that time.

He lived twenty-seven years after his reconciliation with the court, and repented heartily of his revolt. He had a great share of natural genius,
and

and a very extensive knowledge for a prince; but his natural impatience, which had never been properly restricted in his tender years, made him inconstant, light, and inconsistent in his conduct. He was not always successful in his undertakings, nor strictly honourable to his friends.

He was as passionate or rather more so than most men; and had all the fire and courage of Alexander: for this reason extreme danger never took from him his presence of mind, but rather seemed to furnish him with fresh expedients for extricating himself; and a greater discernment in the choice of his measures. But in council he was too much guided by caprice and an opinion of his own strength, and did not hearken sufficiently to reason, which requires leisure and coolness of thought, to examine nicely and without prejudice into the advantages and disadvantages of each side.

This same impetuosity made him frequently unjust in his dealings. He had not been accustomed from his youth to govern himself by the rule of natural equity, if we except the ten last years of his life, which he passed in his castle of Chantilli, where he had never any contradiction to encounter.

Had the prince of Condé been possessed of the coolness and patience of M. Turenne, and had
M. Turenne

M. Turenne had the superior genius of the prince, neither of them would have engaged in a party against their king, and both of them would have risen to be great men; whereas by having unjustly contributed to rend their country with intestine factions, and involve it in all the evils of a civil war, they will never be placed by those who know the world in any more exalted rank than that of illustrious men.

The extreme passion which Lewis XIV. had for every thing which appeared with an éclat, was still more flattered by the embassy which he received from Siam*, a country where, till that time, they were ignorant that such a kingdom as France existed. It had happened, through one of those singular incidents which prove the superiority of the Europeans over other nations, that a Greek, the son of an innkeeper of Cephalonia, named Phalk Constance, was become *barcalon*, that is, prime minister, or grand visier, of the kingdom of Siam. This man, in the design which he had conceived to make himself king, and in his want of foreign assistance, had not dared to confide either in the English or Dutch; because he considered them as too dangerous neighbours. The French had established factories upon the coasts of Coromandel, and had carried their king's reputa-

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* See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. vol. ii. p. 187.

tion into these distant regions of Asia. Constance regarded Lewis XIV. as a person whose vanity he might flatter, by paying him an unexpected homage from so distant a place. Religion, which is made the universal tool of politics from pole to pole, served Constance upon this occasion. He sent a solemn embassy, in the name of his master the king of Siam, with very great presents, to Lewis XIV. and to give him to understand, that this Indian monarch, admiring the glory and splendor of his reign, would conclude no treaty but with the French nation; and even that he intended soon to become a Christian. The king's glory being flattered, and his religion deceived, he was prevailed on to send two ambassadors, and six jesuits, to the king of Siam; and to these he afterwards added some officers, with eight hundred soldiers. But the *éclat* of the Siamese embassy was the only fruit of it. Constance fell a victim to his ambition, and the few French which remained about him were massacred; others were obliged to fly; and his widow, after having been on the point of becoming queen, was condemned by the successor of the king of Siam, to serve in his kitchen; for which employment she was born.

But as it was well known, that this embassy had been concerted beforehand to satisfy the pride and vanity of Lewis, his neighbours made it the object of their ridicule. He may shew the Siamese,

meſe, ſaid they, the greatneſs of his power and magnificence, but will he ſhew them many proofs of his goodneſs to his people; and his faith towards his neighbours. Will theſe embaffadors report to their maſter, that neither his own ſubjects, nor other nations have reaſon to complain of him, but on the contrary applaud him for his juſtice and beneficence? And yet this they muſt ſay, if they would give an idea of him as of a truly great prince, and one who makes a right uſe of his grandeur and power.

Will his brother monarch of Siam hold him very praiſe-worthy, when he ſhall be told by his embaffadors; he is a powerful king, and magnificent in all he does; but he is a bad parent to his people, and a bad neighbour: you are happy in not having ſuch an one near you?

The chancellor (Boucherat) ſigned an edict for fixing the regular penſions of the curates at three hundred livres inſtead of two hundred. This was in the main a very juſt alteration, if we ſuppoſe money to be the ſame as by the old eſtabliſhment, when two hundred livres were equal in value to three hundred of this year's money, for the mark of ſilver at that time gained one third in the numerical value of the livre; but ſince the late increaſe in the numerical value of the ſpecies, the regular penſions inſtead of increaſing have been leſſened, and in general are not ſufficient for the main-

nance of proper persons in the respective cures. A good chancellor, therefore, properly authorized, would have raised these pensions to four hundred livres.

1687.

Odescalchi, the son of a banker in the Milanese, at this time possessed the papal dignity, under the name of Innocent XI. He was almost all the time of his pontificate at variance with Lewis XIV. notwithstanding the vigorous manner in which that monarch had acted against the Calvinists, the most inveterate and irreconcilable enemies to the see of Rome. Matters were carried to such an height that the marquis of Lavardin, who was sent ambassador to Rome, was excommunicated, and the church of St. Lewis, whither he used to go to hear mass, was laid under an interdiction, but to no purpose; for Talon, the advocate-general of the parliament of Paris, appealed in the king's name to a future general council against both these sentences.

These appeals to a future general council are a strong barrier against the unjust pretensions and attempts of the court of Rome, which is continually striving to usurp a sovereign authority in all Catholic countries, a general council being acknowledged superior to one papal authority.

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This year was established the famous house of Saint Cyr, built by the late madame de Maintenon, in the grand park of Versailles, for bringing up *gratis* an hundred and fifty poor female children of noble parents, and giving them an education superior to any they could have had in their own houses, or in any of the convents. This pious lady used to visit them constantly once a-day, and stay with them till the king returned from hunting, and then she went back to her own apartment.

The king was at the expence of the building and furnishing this house, and likewise endowed it with a very considerable yearly income on the Hôtel de Ville of Paris; he did something yet better than all this: for he annexed for ever to this house the mensal income of the abbey of St. Denis, which is valued at eleven thousand ounces of silver per annum; and he would have done still better, if he had added the mensal incomes of other abbies, particularly of those large ones in Flanders, which cannot be put to a better use, than that of giving a virtuous education to the young noblesse: it is to be wished therefore, that future princes may oblige the rich communities to found colleges for the education of male and female children, and settle the mensal incomes of the rich abbies on those colleges, which would

greatly improve this plan for the education of the poor nobility.

This year there appeared an ordinance against games of chance, but it was never put in execution; Colbert had not had leisure during his lifetime to establish in all the parliaments certain committees of prosecution invested with sufficient power, and interested by the value of the fines, to put in execution all the civil ordinances, and inflict the proper punishments upon delinquents. Laws that do not provide for their own execution, are not wise laws; they are proofs indeed of the good wishes and intentions of the legislators, but shew them very deficient in wisdom and address.

And here I must observe, to the shame of the present government, that gaming-tables still continue to be tolerated. There is one at the Hôtel de Soissons, which brings in to the prince of Cagnan near twenty-five ounces of silver, and another at the governor's house of Paris: these two places are the constant rendezvous of all the scoundrels and pickpockets about town. Here they meet with young dupes of officers, rich heirs, merchants clerks, and upper servants that play and lose their own and their parents and masters money, and when reduced to the last extremity, frequently enlist in the same service with the rooks that stripped them.

Now

Now is it not the business of sound policy to root out these disorders from a state? Would it not be better to make the people pay a tax towards the support of the prince of Carignan and the duke de Gelves, at fifty thousand crowns a-year for their respective lives, than to suffer a practice so pernicious to the morals of youth, and so displeasing to every honest man and good citizen?

The pirates of Algiers began about this time to renew their depredations, notwithstanding the treaties lately made. Upon this the marquis d'Anfreville was sent with a small squadron against them, who took one of their largest vessels, and sunk another, and obliged them to promise a more exact observance of the truce for the future.

The elector of Bavaria and the duke of Savoy went this year to pass their carnival at Venice, and there privately signed their accession to the famous league of Augsbourg, which was by this time filled with almost all the sovereign powers of Europe. Lewis XIV. had for a considerable time made all his neighbours tremble by the greatness of his power; the continual desire of aggrandizing himself, and the little regard paid to his engagements.

But now the great numbers, and strict union of powers in league against him, began to make him and his ministers tremble in their turn.

There appeared but one regulation this year that respected the public good. This was the act against beggars: but as this disorder is continually returning in a great kingdom, and that there was no fixed office for putting an effectual stop to it, this law, so wholesome in itself, was productive of very little good.

1688.

This year produced one of the greatest events that had been seen in Europe for a long time, viz. the landing of the prince of Orange in England, on account of the consequences it was attended with, and the long and fatal war it raised against France, by putting all the powers that composed the league of Augsbourg against the king into motion.

The prince of Orange, with about forty men of war, and a great number of transports, on board of which were eighteen thousand men, landed in Torbay, and the adjacent parts to the southwards, on the fourth day of November, O. S. with a design to drive, from his throne and kingdoms,

doms, king James II. his father-in-law, who had rendered himself very obnoxious to his Protestant subjects, by the excessive partiality he shewed for the Catholic religion and its professors, in complaisance to the will of the queen his wife, the princess of Modena, who was a rigid Catholic; and the utter disregard he had shewn since his accession to the throne, to the laws subsisting against Papists and their religion.

The nation was in general so discontented with this weak prince, for this behaviour and some ordinances, which he had issued without the advice or consent of parliament, that when the news came of his son-in-law being landed, he found himself deserted by all ranks of people, the magistrates, the officers, and the whole army abandoned him; so that he was at length obliged to abdicate his throne, and fly over to France, with the consent of his son-in-law, who connived at his escape.

The earl of Sunderland, a man of a supple and enterprising genius, was prime minister to James; he had on several occasions falsely promised his master, that he would one day become a willing convert to the Romish religion, but that he must wait till he saw the public exercise of it tolerated by law in the same manner as the Protestant. This skilful statesman knew the genius of the nation, and was for proceeding by slow steps: on the contrary, the queen, who was totally ignorant of it, was for pushing

pushing the most vigorous measures, and ruined all by going too fast. This princess, who governed the king her husband as she would, was herself governed by her confessor father Peters, a jesuit. Sunderland, perceiving how matters were likely to go, resolved to place the prince of Orange on the throne of England, that he might preserve to himself the place of prime minister.

In pursuance of this scheme he concerted the plan of a descent with the prince of Orange, by means of a person in whom he confided; and as the Dutch, who were among the first powers that entered into the league of Augsbourg, saw, that the success of it absolutely depended upon the execution of this plan, they immediately made the business their own, and engaged to support it with all their force. The crafty Sunderland, in the mean time, played his part to admiration at home; he gave into the queen's opinion without restriction, and joined with her in advising the king to a number of imprudent steps, the least of which were more than sufficient to excite a rebellion, in a nation that had already shewn so many marks of discontent; and to put the finishing stroke to the whole, he proposed the imprisonment of the seven bishops that had refused to obey a declaration lately published by the king.

This affair made a great noise, and all those who knew the constitution of the English government

ment did not scruple to affirm, that it would end in the expulsion of James, even before they had the least notion of the real destination of the armament fitted out by the prince of Orange; for by this last act he struck immediately at the liberties of the church, which is the only firm support of the English kings.

The prince of Orange, to amuse the king of England with regard to this armament, spread a report, that it was destined against the coasts of France, in order to procure a powerful diversion in favour of the Protestants, at a time when France was about to be attacked on all sides: this was in fact what all her neighbours proposed, and which they actually did in a short time afterwards. This unhappy kingdom was now so totally surrounded by enemies in every quarter, that it was not without reason, that the prince of Orange was reported to have said, at forming the league of Augsbourg, that if Europe would live in safety it must lay siege to France.

It is certain, that the ill usage of the Protestants in France, furnished a very favourable opportunity for circulating the opinion of a descent to be made on the coasts of France. Sunderland assisted this report, by imposing upon Barillon the French ambassador in London; and upon this Lewis immediately sent forces into Normandy, Brittany and the coasts of Rochelle.

But

But there were two certain methods of frustrating all that was intended by this armament, of which Lewis had had sufficient notice from d'Avaux his ambassador at the Hague.

The first was, by equipping a large fleet at Rochefort, Brest and Havre, and ordering round at the same time a strong squadron compleatly armed from Toulon. By this means, the king would have found himself master of the seas with upwards of sixty men of war, to encounter the Dutch fleet of forty ships, if it had ventured out. This was the advice of Seignelai, but Louvois, who had more credit with the king than all his other ministers, opposed it strenuously.

The second method was, to have formed a camp of forty or fifty thousand men at Luxembourg, ready to march at a short warning to Maestricht; for then the Dutch would never have suffered the prince of Orange to leave the nation, and carry eighteen thousand of their troops over to England. The invasion of their country in 1672 was not yet forgotten. One or other of these two methods the king should have pursued, instead of which he neglected both. Louvois dissuaded him from fitting out a force at sea, least it should increase the credit of his rival Seignelai; and that he might the more easily get the management of a large armament by land
into

into his own hands, instead of marching the troops to Maestricht, he very imprudently sent them to Philipsbourg under the command of the dauphin, who was not then quite seven and twenty.

The Dutch, delivered from their fears concerning Maestricht for this year at least, pursued their plan of invading England, that they might be enabled to return the following year with a greater number of troops and allies to attack France on all sides, and divest it for ever of the power of doing them a future injury. Thus was France engaged in a tedious war, which exactly answered the ends and designs of Louvois.

It is said, that the king having given him as a perquisite, the duties on the postage of foreign letters, which was worth near two hundred thousand ounces of silver a-year, he had behaved with great insolence to the ambassador of Savoy, on a dispute he had with him relating to the payment of those duties. This ill usage of his ambassador determined the duke of Savoy to accede to the league of Augsbourg. Louvois had indeed many opportunities of mortifying this prince in the course of the war; but all this was at the expence of the king and people, who did not think they had so great a number of enemies.

The

The king went on, building, fortifying and making preparations for a new war, and to support those expences he borrowed twenty millions, by creating annuities for a million a year on the general farms payable at the Hôtel de Ville of Paris.

1689.

In the foregoing winter, and the spring of this year, Louvois, whose insolent behaviour had made the king more enemies than all the power of France could resist, received advice that the Imperialists, notwithstanding their war with the Turks, were ready to assemble an hundred thousand men on the Rhine, under the command of the duke of Lorrain, general of the empire, a man of great military talents, and who had acquired much reputation in these wars; this advice determined him to act wholly upon the defensive.

In this view he began by compleatly providing with all necessary stores the towns of Mayence, Bonne and Kaiserwert that had been taken from the emperor; and then gave orders for burning all the small villages in the German dominions on this side the Rhine, and to ruin the country in such a manner, that the Imperial army which was very large, not finding any means of subsistence or forage, but what it procured from a great distance by

by waggons and horses, might be wearied out with the fatigues and expences of the campaign, before it could be in a condition to attempt any thing of consequence against Strasbourg, or the other strong-holds belonging to the French. This scheme was accordingly executed before the Imperialists could take the field, and it was with the greatest surprize and grief that all Europe beheld the burning and sacking of all the towns and villages on the frontiers of Germany, and the inexpressible distresses of the unhappy people, who were reduced to utter ruin by this inhuman order.

It is certain, that the king was himself the first aggressor in this war, and that by the acts of injustice which he had committed at the instigation of Louvois against his neighbours to aggrandize his own territories, he had made them all his enemies, and forced them to join against him by the league of Augsbουργ, as against a powerful usurper, and the greatest disturber of the peace of Europe that had appeared since the days of Charles V. Thus he stands charged with all the miseries that he caused to these wretched people; for he would have had no occasion to have recourse to these inhuman devastations, had he followed the universal rule of right, to which all men, the most powerful monarchs not excepted, are equally subject; if they are willing to preserve a character of justice and goodness. *Do not to any of your neighbours what you yourself would think un-*

just, and be unwilling that they should do to you, were you in their place and inferior in force.

But Lewis did not think of this fundamental maxim in the war he made against the king of Spain in 1667. For had he been in that monarch's place, would he have thought it just, that his neighbour should make war upon him, and strip him of part of his dominions, in assertion of rights which he had before solemnly renounced by a treaty of peace?

And why did he not put in practice this rule of right? Because it was against his interest; and to have been taught to prefer justice to that, his guardian cardinal Mazarin should have confided his education to other men than those of a common stamp, and should have recommended to them above all things to give the young king frequent and daily opportunities of practising this rule of equity, that he might at length become accustomed to observe it in all his proceedings: or would to heaven! for his own welfare as well as our's, that he had only acquired, during his education, the custom of asking himself, every time he engaged in an undertaking against the interests of his own people, or that of his neighbours: *Would I, were I in their place be pleased that they should act thus with regard to me? would I be willing they should break their promises?*

Had

Had this been the case, he would have become the peace-maker of Europe, and the truly great man; he would have been adored while living, and regretted after his death in a higher degree than ever prince had been before him, not only by his own subjects, but by all neighbouring nations. He would have been the model of a perfect king, and have enjoyed a happiness infinitely superior to that which the most brilliant conquests, or the greatest successes could give him.

In 1683, Louvois conferred the administration of the finances on Pelletier, who was in fact an upright minister, and actuated with a zeal for the public good; but he was one of very few lights, inactive, irresolute, and greatly wanting in firmness: accordingly he was displaced in 1688, and his post given to Phéliepeaux de Pontchartrain, a man who possessed all the qualities that the other wanted, but without having his integrity and disinterestedness, or his zeal for the public service. By his superior resolution and boldness, he issued in the course of this one year 1689, no less than nineteen different money edicts.

The fearful Pelletier found insurmountable difficulties in every thing, that is without engaging the king in acts of injustice; but the bolder Pontchartrain surmounted whatever opposed him, and thought he secured himself from all reproach, by

saying what is certainly true, *that we must sometimes do injustice to prevent greater evils*; but his greatest reproach was, that he frequently made a bad application of this maxim.

The sacking and burning of the towns in Flanders by the French in cold blood, had made our nation detested by all the German powers, and quickened their deliberations at the diet; where they came to a resolution to exert their utmost efforts to crush an enemy grown so wanton in cruelty: for war had never been made in so barbarous a manner before this time, though the burning the towns, and laying waste the country of an enemy has been allowed in certain cases where the preservation of their own territories depended upon it.

The duke of Burgundy, having now attained his seventh year, was taken from the women: the king gave him the duke of Beauvilliers for his governor, and the abbé de l'énelon afterwards archbishop of Cambrai for his preceptor, both men of great merit; but yet this domestic education was deficient in several points.

First, The two persons made choice of, were quite new in the employ; now it is obvious, that had they been exercised only for five or six years in the education of youth, and had had all the necessary lessons, stories, exercises and amusements for each day as it were at their fingers end; had they

they been assisted by a sufficient number of subordinate officers under their direction; and lastly, had they attained by experience a competent knowledge of the strong genius and lively imagination to be met with in children, they would have been much more expert in their office, and consequently have succeeded much better in the same length of time. So much for the preceptors or governors of children.

Secondly, It is well known how necessary emulation is in the pursuits of life, and consequently to children, to excite in them an application to study with a view of equalling or surpassing their school-fellows of a like age. But the duke of Burgundy had no competitor in his studies, whereas he ought to have had at least twenty or thirty.

Thirdly, A governor or preceptor, who has the ordering of a young prince's education, should have a number of officers under him to assist him in the several duties or exercises of the day, some for the arts and sciences, others for drawing, history, disputation, &c. There should be no contradiction, nor variance subsisting between the governor and the preceptor; and as the business of education is liable to momentary calls, and those of the most urgent nature, the power of the governor should be entirely despotic.

Fourthly, As the two brothers of the duke of Burgundy were of different ages, there should have been two other classes instituted consisting of youths of the same age, with a governor to each class, and a like number of inferior officers experienced in the business of education.

Fifthly, All these should have the same plan of education, and tend to the same end; such an one nearly as that which I have proposed in a treatise written purposely for the improvement of the education of our dauphins: a proper time should be allowed for fixing those habits, which are of the greatest importance to a prince, either with respect to himself, his parents, or the people who are to be his future subjects. But scarcely one of all these articles were attended to; however, the great abilities of the preceptor made up, in some measure, for the want of a more regular plan of education, and the duke of Burgundy turned out a most hopeful young prince, and the nation with great reason shewed the deepest regret for his loss.

1690.

This year, the Irish affairs turned out very unfavourable to king James; for instead of directing the whole strength of the war towards that country and England, Louvois, from the jealousy he

he had of Seignelai, frustrated every thing that his rival proposed. Lewis sent a very considerable number of troops over, and those in want of artillery, ammunition and money, and yet the whole success of the game he was playing depended upon the conquest of Ireland, which would have given the Jacobites in England an opportunity of declaring openly for their exiled king, and then the hearts of the people might have been softened with a promise of a general amnesty, and a solemn assurance, that nothing should hereafter be done without the consent of parliament; this would have been the means of sending back the prince of Orange, whose authority stood as yet but upon a ticklish foundation.

And now, James being restored, would have acted as mediator between the confederate powers and the king, and have effectually stopped the prosecution of the league of Augsbourg in its design against France, and have brought the powers at variance to agree to a peace, or at least a long truce; whereas, for want of giving James sufficient succours, we gave the prince of Orange time to settle himself firmly on the English throne; and raise those immense supplies of men and money, which he afterwards made use of against us.

But Seignelai had it not in his power to send any considerable succours to Ireland; these, however, weak as they were, landed safely in that

kingdom, under the command of the marquis d'Anfreville, lieutenant-general of the marine. However, James and his army were beat at the battle of the Boyne, and the French troops were obliged to re-embark the following year; so that it was the opinion of most people of understanding, that we had better have dropped all thoughts of doing any thing in Ireland from the beginning, than to have attempted it with such an inconsiderable force. And it was universally looked upon as an egregious blunder in politics; but Louvois was yet living.

A battle was fought the latter part of this year at Fleurus in Flanders, where the French got the victory with the loss of four thousand men; that of the confederates was near double: but it produced nothing decisive, for we did not take a single place after notwithstanding our victory.

The victory gained by marshal Catinat over the duke of Savoy at Staffarde was indeed somewhat more decisive, for it was followed by the taking of Cavours and Saline.

The dauphin commanded in Germany having under him the marshal de Lorges, who had express orders not to seek a battle, though at that time greatly superior in troops.

This

This year the Turks made themselves masters of several places in Hungary, and among others of Belgrade ; and indeed we stood in need of such a diversion in our favour.

The sedition which had been raised in Brittany, on account of the heavy burfal edicts being quieted, the king restored the parliament to Rennes, the capital of the province, from which it had been removed to Vannes, on suspicion that the greater part of the members secretly favoured the malcontents, or at least had not sufficiently exerted their authority in quelling the insurrection. This punishment taught them wisdom, and a more punctual submission to the orders of the court.

The princess of Bavaria, wife to the dauphin, died this year, leaving behind her three sons : the expences of her household amounted yearly to near six hundred thousand ounces of silver.

Soon after died Seignelai, who fell the victim of his debaucheries. He was witty, bold, eloquent, and a great lover of shew, but wholly ignorant of true glory. He gave into all the vanities and pleasures of a court. The king gave his post of secretary of the marine to M. de Phéliepeaux Pontchartrain, who already exercised the management of the finances.

All regulations for the public service were now changed to burfal edicts, by which the people were stripped of their money: these edicts were to the number of twenty-two: but the method of borrowing by annuities on the city, and the great houses in the city, is certainly of all others the least: 1. Because it is the least expensive to the king. 2. Because it pays the least interest.

It is certain, that the city-annuities were for a considerable time our best resources; but for want of paying off some part of the principal yearly, the government was never able to discharge them, or set itself free; and thus the state, being constantly loaded with a fresh succession of debt without being able to clear itself of the old ones, was every day suffering a diminution in its credit.

But this inconvenience is remediable, by adopting the English method of annuities: it is the only way of acquiring credit in time of peace, and consequently of being able to borrow in time of war; and at the same time is the most certain method of rooting out from amongst us the cursed herd of usurers and contractors that over-run the kingdom, and accumulate immense riches at the expence of their fellow-subjects, and to the utter ruin of the state.

1691.

Louvois took his measures so well at the beginning of this year, that by the month of April he marched an hundred thousand men into Flanders, compleatly furnished with ammunition and provisions. Mons, a place of great strength, was vigorously attacked by the king in person, and carried at the end of sixteen days, notwithstanding the great superiority of the confederates; but they had not time to get together their forces.

Catinat on his side possessed himself of Nice and Montmellian; but we lost all our footing in Ireland, and what was still worse, we saw our strength and riches daily exhausted by the powerful efforts we were obliged to make; and the Turks, from whom we expected a strong diversion in our favour, began to shew an inclination to peace.

Marshal Luxembourg fought the battle of Leuge, in which our loss exceeded that of the allies by a third. It was properly speaking an horse-combat, and produced nothing decisive, but the king's household troops gave proofs of the most surprising valour.

Louvois died suddenly in the month of July. His wife suspected that the water in a pot he used to drink out of in the afternoon had been poisoned,
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and that it was the effect of the duke of Savoy's revenge. Others believed his death to have been occasioned by a sharp reproach he had received from the king, for having made the duke of Savoy his enemy among the rest of the powers of Europe. Whatever was the occasion, his majesty did not appear much affected with his loss; and by putting his son Barbesieux into his place, who was but barely six and twenty years of age, he meant to shew the world, that it was he who formed his ministers, and that he stood in no need of their advice; being himself equal to every exigence of state. These were the fruits of that great opinion of his own abilities, which his ministers endeavoured to inspire him with; in which they were always striving who should exceed the other: and to say the truth, this adulation of theirs principally engaged him to share with them all the business of their several departments; for nothing but the pleasure of hearing himself praised could have induced a young prince, naturally averse to trouble and fatigue, to enter into all the tedious minutiae of state affairs; and by being accustomed to this daily round of flattery within doors, he swallowed without scruple those extravagant praises that were lavished upon him in public.

And in making choice, as he did afterwards, of Chamillard to succeed Pontchartrain in the government of the finances, and at the same time
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in that of the department of war after the death of Barbesieux, who fell a victim to debauchery, it was purely from a belief, that he wanted only a good clerk under him to take the laborious part off his hands, and not of a minister of discernment and abilities, to provide against the difficulties that arise in the course of affairs.

But had the king's abilities been really as great as he himself thought them, he certainly gave a very bad proof of his understanding, in supposing that he could be able to do as great things with young ministers, brought up in all the delicacy and voluptuousness of a court, and whose capacities were not equal to the weighty affairs they had to manage, as with those, whom strength of genius, solid experience, and a long habit of business had formed for government. Therefore this great presumption of his own capacity hindered him from looking out for ministers of a superior understanding to assist him in his government, with that skill and ready address, which is inseparable from those of a great and indefatigable genius.

It is common for those of a middling genius to make choice of such for their ministers, whom they find most in esteem by those about them: Lewis XIII. who was one of these middling geniusses, and had withal very little self-conceit, had sense enough to pursue this method, and consequently governed so much better than his son, as he had
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the good fortune to chuse for his prime minister cardinal Richelieu, a man of the greatest abilities, whose good understanding led him to chuse other ministers of known skill and ingenuity, and was never, like Lewis XIV. apprehensive that their reputation would prejudice his.

Every one must be sensible, that those will succeed but in the most important employs, whose lights are proportioned to the greatness and extent of their charge; and that the greater the virtue and talents of a minister are, the more successful will be his administration. The king had doubtless a speculative knowledge of this truth, but he was frequently led away, like the common run of mankind, by false reasonings to act against the lights and dictates of his own understanding; this made him pitch upon Barbesieux, and afterwards on Chamillard and Voisin, though men of very middling capacities, from the presumption that his own abilities were more than sufficient to supply the want of capacity in his minister.

This year died marshal Feuillade, a man of a distinguished character and abilities as a courtier. His plan of life was exactly the same with that of all other courtiers; the raising himself to a pitch of eminence and riches above his equals. This is the great object of the meanly ambitious: nay, indeed, we may say, it is the general object of the common part of mankind in every profession,
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and of whatever country and condition, for want knowing, that it is not great riches, nor an exalted rank, that can make them more happy during their lives, nor more esteemed after their deaths; but only the good use they make of those riches and dignities, and a virtuous application of their knowledge and talents.

The best use of the best things far from producing an increase of good, begets on the contrary an increase of ill; and he who might have lived happy, beloved and esteemed as a private man, frequently enjoys less content, and lives with less reputation as a minister: the reason is, that a great place calls for a great man, otherwise the public is hurt by the disproportion between the man and the post he occupies.

All mankind are desirous of increasing their happiness; and the pleasure we have in a fair reputation makes a part of this happiness. The bulk of mankind seldom carry their views to any great length with regard to general means that are most proper for attaining this end; but confine them chiefly to great wealth, eminent posts, and a distinguished share in the royal favour.

Man is by nature desirous of the conveniencies of life; that is, of an exemption from the evils of it, then he wishes for those pleasures that gratify the senses; and lastly, for the pleasures of the mind,

mind, which arise from being distinguished by rank or fortune above those of an equal condition.

Now an increase in fortune will procure us the conveniencies of life; that is, an exemption from small evils, as fatigue, cold, heat, &c. and likewise the sensual pleasures, as good living, the diversions of the chase, music, dancing, shews, &c. and a train of servants that are watchful to administer to, and even prevent our wishes and desires.

But high posts and the favour of princes give a double relish to the pleasures that arise from being distinguished from those of our own rank: therefore marshal Feuillade, whose fondness for such a distinction exceeded all his other passions, was more assiduous than any one to make himself conspicuous in point of fortune, which would necessarily procure him this flattering pre-eminence.

It is to be observed, that those whose ambition prompts them to increase their own happiness above that of their equals, seldom take a pleasure in augmenting the good of the public. The marshal, like most Frenchmen of his time, hardly ever gave this a place in his thoughts, or at least a very small one, so that the least motive of private interest would make him abandon a scheme of the greatest public utility.

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He knew, like most persons of his nation, and indeed all courtiers, that to exalt himself in point of fortune and riches, he must endeavour to please the king, before his own friends and equals. The king loved praise, but was as little a judge of it as those from whom he received it. Now Feuillade, by the nicest attention to this part of his master's character, succeeded better than any of his competitors in pleasing him by the praises he gave him, in which he was more lavish than the rest: in short, he distinguished himself so much in this respect, that he acquired a singularity of character that almost bordered upon the ridiculous.

Having observed, that nothing pleases a mistress so much, or gives her so convincing a proof of the warmest love, zeal and attachment for her service, as revenging an insult offered her; he thought, that by embracing an opportunity which presented itself of revenging the king on a grandee of Spain, who had affronted him by some disrespectful speeches, he should give his majesty a strong proof of his loving him beyond any other person; in this sentiment he took post for Madrid, where he challenged this grandee, fought him, disarmed him, and gave him his life, upon his begging it of him in the king's name. All the world laughed at this exploit of his for a romantic folly, as in truth it was; but it answered his end:

end: therefore if his end was not a foolish one, the means he used to attain it were not foolish, but rather proofs of his great address and ingenuity; and in fact the king, like great beauties, who are always ready to believe whatever is said to them by their admirers, was the dupe of this pretended fondness and attachment of Feuillade to his person; and looked upon him as the man the most devoted to him of all his courtiers, without any views of acquiring the distinguished rank of favourite.

Nor was Feuillade wanting on his part to cherish an opinion so favourable to his purpose. He studied all the morning, and even all night, what he should say to the king in the course of the day, to convince him, that he had a greater esteem, care and admiration for him than any of the other courtiers, and how much superior he thought him in goodness and understanding to all the rest of the world. This constant adherence to the most extravagant adulation, put him upon erecting a statue, in honour of the king, in the *Place des Victoires*, or square of victories, with an inscription that has since been the object of such public blame and ridicule, viz. *Viro immortalis*; to the immortal man.

Lewis XIV. was certainly in his person no more immortal than the meanest of his subjects; and as to his name, there are many more names immortal

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tal besides his ; and therefore as it is not the only immortal name, Lewis XIV. was not at all known or distinguished by the title of *Vir immortalis*, the immortal man *.

But now Louvois, who began to perceive, that La Feuillade, however visionary and romantic he might be on some occasions, had hit on the true method of pleasing the king in this, and had gained considerably in his favour, by entertaining him at all turns with his grand square, and the

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* The following remark of Mr. de Voltaire, in his Age of Lewis XIV. relating to the statues erected to the honour of that monarch, and their inscriptions, will not, I hope, be disagreeable to our readers, as it serves to shew, how very differently two men of the greatest genius may think on some respects :

“ Lewis XIV. says he, has been accused of insupportable
 “ pride, because the basis of his statues in the squares des
 “ Victoires, and that of Vendôme, are surrounded with slaves
 “ in chains : but it was not him who caused those statues to
 “ be erected. That of the square des Victoires is a monu-
 “ ment of the greatness of soul, and the gratitude of the first
 “ marshal de Feuillade to his master. He expended in it five
 “ hundred thousand livres, which makes near a million at pré-
 “ sent, and the city doubled this sum to make the square re-
 “ gular. I have been always disgusted at the injustice done
 “ to Lewis XIV. in imputing to him the pride of this statue,
 “ and at the negligence shewn in not doing justice to the ge-
 “ nerosity of the marshal.

“ They were only considered as four slaves, but they ex-
 “ pressed the vices he subdued, rather than the nations he
 “ conquered ;

fine statue he had raised in it; thought he could not do better than follow his example, and even to endeavour to surpass him, by making a more magnificent square, and erecting an equestrian statue in it, much larger and more beautiful than that of Feuillade's: which he accordingly did in the place des Conquêtes, or square of Conquests, commonly known by the name of the place or square of Vendôme.

After all, had the king a little better understood the interest of his own reputation, he would rather

“ conquered: duelling abolished by him, and heresy destroyed: and the inscriptions sufficiently prove this. They also
 “ celebrate the union of the seas and the peace of Nimeguen,
 “ and speak of nothing but benevolent actions; nor has one
 “ of these slaves any thing that characterises the people conquered by Lewis XIV: besides, it is an antient custom in
 “ sculptures, to put slaves at the feet of the statues of kings.
 “ It would be better indeed, if they represented free and
 “ happy citizens there; but slaves may be seen at the feet of
 “ the good Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. at Paris; they are
 “ also to be seen at Livourne, under the feet of Ferdinand de
 “ Medicis, who certainly never enslaved any nation, and at
 “ Berlin, under the statue of an elector who repulsed the
 “ Swedes, but never gained any conquests.

“ The neighbours of the French, as well as themselves,
 “ have with great injustice made Lewis XIV. answerable for
 “ this custom; the inscription, *viro immortalis*, to the immortal
 “ man, has been accused of idolatry, as if it signified any thing
 “ but the immortality of his glory. The inscription of Viviani
 “ on his house at Florence, *ades à deo datae*, a house given by
 “ a god,

rather have sought the praise of a good and beneficent prince among his subjects, and of a just and exact neighbour among other powers, than that of powerful and formidable, which is the kind of praise that the Manichees give the devil. For to what purpose is great power, unless engaged in contributing to the greater and more lasting happiness of deserving families? And what is there of noble or praise-worthy in those undertakings, that are set on foot wholly with a view to our own interest, or that of our family, without producing any real addition to the happiness of our country?

T 2

This

“ *a god*, may be considered as more idolatrous: but it is only
 “ an allusion to the surname of Deodatus, and to the verse of
 “ Virgil,

“ *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.*

“ With respect to the statue in the square of Vendome, it
 “ was the city which erected it. The king had destined the
 “ buildings of this square for his public library. “ The square
 “ was very large, and had at first three fronts; which were
 “ those of an immense palace, the walls of which were already
 “ built, when the public misfortunes in 1701, obliged the
 “ city to build houses for private persons, upon the ruins of
 “ this unfinished palace.

“ From what we have related, it appears, that Lewis XIV.
 “ in every thing loved grandeur and glory. A prince who
 “ should do as great things as Lewis XIV. and should still
 “ continue modest, would be the first of kings, and Lewis
 “ XIV. the second.” Volt. Age of Lewis XII. Vol. 2.

This year Pontchartrain issued upwards of eighty money edicts, for raising money, by which as many thousands of poor families were ruined and distressed. Such are the fruits of war!

Pope Alexander VIII. a Venetian, by name Ottoboni, issued a private bull or brief, disannulling the royal edict and arrêt of parliament published in 1682, to confirm the declaration of the thirty-four bishops, by which they deny the pope's infallibility, and set up the authority of general councils above that of the see of Rome.

This pope, who was a man of understanding, could not be silly enough to believe himself infallible, but he was wise enough to know, that this opinion is the chief foundation of the great authority the popes exercise over all catholic princes. Accordingly, this private brief was a kind of protestation against the act of the episcopal assembly in 1682.

This reminds me of a fact which I had from the late marshal Tessé, and which I shall relate in this place. He had received orders from the duke of Orleans then regent, to do the honours of the kingdom to the late Czar on his arrival in France; that prince having one day heard mention made of a difference that was between cardinal de Noailles, then archbishop of Paris, and the pope, on
account

account of the bull *Unigenitus*, which the pope would have to be received as an absolutely infallible decree, said to the marshal: *In truth, if the pope believes himself infallible in his decrees he is a great fool; and if he does not believe it, he is a great impostor to endeavour to make others believe it.*

1692.

King James, after having been driven out of Ireland by his son-in-law king William, was willing to make another attempt in Scotland; but William to deceive him, had officers both by sea and land, who, under the mask of disaffection to the government, introduced themselves into all the councils and cabals of the Jacobite party, and by that means discovered their most secret intrigues; by means of these spies he was informed, that almost one third of the captains of his fleet were friends to king James, and intended to take the opportunity of the first engagement at sea to go over to the French, and put themselves under the order of their admiral.

William sent a list of the names of the suspected persons to the admiral that commanded his fleet, with orders to put them under arrest the very evening of the action, and place such in their rooms, as he named to him. This was executed accordingly, and in so private a manner,

that it was impossible for the French admiral to have any notice of it.

Lewis in the persuasion, that a great number of the English captains of king James's party would desert with their ships during the fight, had sent orders to the count de Tourville, who then commanded as admiral of the French fleet, to attack that of the enemy, though stronger by half the number of ships : the count obeyed, and with an unparalleled boldness led on six and forty sail, to attack near ninety of the combined fleets of England and Holland.

The enemy was in the greatest astonishment at this presumption, and began to apprehend, not without reason, some treachery in the case ; but after two hours of a most furious and obstinate engagement, the French fleet was entirely surrounded by the enemy. Then it was, that the count de Tourville, attacked on all sides, began to make a running fight, retiring towards la Hogue and Cherbourg ; a part of the fleet, to the number of fourteen sail, was sunk and burnt in the harbours, in sight of king James, who was come down with the troops to embark for his expedition to Scotland, in case the engagement had proved as favourable to the French, as he had reason to believe it would.

The

The king received this disagreeable news before Namure, which he was at that time besieging; however, he continued the siege, and made himself master of the place, by dint of the greatest perseverance: and as the count de Tourville had exactly followed his orders, and had fought very valiantly; the king, with the general approbation, made him a marshal of France the following year.

Lewis, after the taking of Namure, returned to Versailles with all the ladies of his court, leaving the command of the army to marshal Luxembourg, who was a brave officer, and very ready at an emergency; but of a weak understanding, indolent, and too much devoted to pleasure. King William drew him into a snare at Steenkirk. He attacked our army when we had not the least conception of his being near us. But it must be allowed, that Luxembourg, by the bravery of his troops, soon repaired his mistake, and managed so well, that he remained master of the field of battle, the enemy retiring with a loss not at all inferior to our's.

The duke of Savoy, afterwards king of Sardinia, having after many solicitations obtained five and twenty or thirty thousand men from the emperor, was by this reinforcement become much superior to the French; accordingly he took Gap

and Ambrun, which he abandoned afterwards upon falling ill, and being obliged to retire into his own country. He was a prince of great courage and ambition, and inured to toils, but whose word was never to be depended upon. He eagerly sought after the glory of being a great prince without rightly knowing what it was. It would seem by his conduct, that he thought a superiority of merit consisted wholly in a superiority of power, and which made him prefer a talent for deceiving in the cabinet, and succeeding in the field, to the possession of the greatest virtues. He never rightly comprehended, that the glory of a prince is to surpass all others [of his station in the arts of rendering his people more virtuous, more easy, and more happy,

This year, Pontchartrain published fifty-five different edicts for raising money; but no one regulation appeared for the good of the interior of the state. The court was too much taken up with attending to the schemes of the enemy, to turn its thoughts towards any expence for the public good, or to give the least regard to any thing but the prosecution of a war, where we were greatly inferior in force to our enemies.

1693.

In Flanders, marshal Luxembourg fought the battle of Newinde, which he gained, but with the

the loss of a great number of men, and some excellent officers. This battle put all Paris into mourning. After this he took Charleroi.

In Italy, marshal Catinat gained the battle of La Marfaille. This year the extraordinary expences of the war amounted to upwards of one million four hundred forty-four thousand marks of silver, that is, near forty millions of livres, at twenty-eight livres to the mark. The expences of the enemy were very little less. They lost in one battle upwards of twenty thousand men. These are the fruits of the destructive method of war, which princes, who think themselves more powerful than their neighbours, have hitherto constantly preferred to the more rational one of arbitration for deciding their differences.

This year, the king instituted the order of St. Lewis for the military people ; but as it is at present granted to almost every one, this order, which ought to be a spur to emulation amongst the officers of all ranks, is now very far from producing any such effect. 1. There should be some outward distinguishing mark for the different ranks of officers, but there is none. 2. There should be only a certain limited number of knights among the captains, and the same in a lesser proportion among the colonels ; now the number of neither has been fixed as yet. 3. When a place becomes vacant, it should be filled up by the scrutiny of
thirty

thirty in the same class, and the places should be equally distributed amongst these classes in their turns; but hitherto there has been no rule of this kind, no method for regulating the choice.

And yet such a method would be doubly advantageous to the king. First, He would never incur the public hatred, blame, or contempt for having made an unjust or imprudent choice of his officers. Secondly, Every candidate would behave in the most gentle and polite manner to every one, and his comrades in particular, and shew himself on all occasions attentive to the service of his country, by endeavouring to perfect himself in his professions, in hopes by such behaviour to conciliate a greater number of votes in his favour; for in a scrutiny the greatest degree of national merit must carry it: but what is not as yet done, future times may see brought to perfection.

There appeared two edicts, touching those who had permission to compound with the king for the services due upon lands holden from the crown; this was another expedient for raising money, and was of advantage to the vassals, supposing they had not already paid too dear for their right of acquisition. The king ought, for the good of his subjects, to have given a general liberty of freeing themselves from feudal services, together with the duties, fines upon leases, and sales. For the
multiplicity

multiplicity of services and fines between lords and their vassals, and between lords and lords, are so many sources of continual law-suits to the great detriment of a number of individuals, and consequently in the end to the government.

This year there appeared above sixty edicts for raising money in different ways, the least burthensome of which was the creation of rents to be raised on the revenues of the farms; there wanted but one thing in these creations, which was to provide for the paying off these annuities in twenty or thirty years as is done in England: these rents they call annuities, and pay off some part of the capital every year, and buy and sell them, in the same manner, as we do our India company's actions.

1694.

The military successes of this year were pretty equally balanced. Fortune sometimes declaring in favour of us, sometimes against us. In Catalonia, our army beat that of the Spaniards, and took four or five small places. On the other side, king William took Huy, and burnt the town of Dieppe, which has since been built in a much more beautiful manner: but he miscarried in his design upon Brest, where general Talmash was killed, and the combined fleet lost two ships, and upwards of two thousand men, owing to the vigilance

gillance and excellent dispositions of marshal Vauban, who commanded on that coast.

Corn being at this time extremely dear, we sent for it up the Baltic, but a convoy of an hundred sail loaded from thence for our ports was intercepted, and taken by eight Dutch men of war; Jean Bart, a chef d'escadre, then lying at Dunkirk, had advice of this, and sailed in pursuit of the Dutch, took three of their ships, and obliged the rest to make off, and to our great joy brought the whole convoy safe into port. Nothing considerable passed in Italy, though the enemy was much stronger there than us. The great skill of marshal Catinat prevented the duke of Savoy from undertaking any thing of consequence.

This year died marshal Humieres and marshal Bellefond, brother-adventurers in the field, both equally brave, liberal and magnificent. Marshal Humieres, who was governor of Flanders, was the richest man, Bellefond the most industrious and skilful.

There came out, in the course of this year, seventy edicts or declarations for raising different taxes to carry on the war. Pontchartrain was laborious, fruitful in resources, determinate and expeditious.

1695.

King William lost his queen, who was eldest daughter to James II. but as his title to the crown had been fully acknowledged by parliament six years before, his interest suffered nothing by this event. The extreme aversion of the English nation to all dependence on the papal power and authority made them to prefer a stranger to their natural sovereign James II. who was only brother and heir to the late king Charles II. and who had reigned over them for the space of four years after the death of his brother.

Abbadie composed the queen's funeral oration, in which he pronounced with the greatest eloquence.

The great expence which Lewis had been at in the preceding years, in supporting his vast armaments by sea and land, obliged him now to retrench his forces; whilst, on the contrary, the English and their allies were in a condition to renew their efforts this year, by which they gained greatly the superiority both in Italy and at sea. William attacked, and took Namure, though defended by a garrison of fifteen thousand men, under the command of marshal Boufflers, who defended it with much more courage than skill.

The

The Dutch had brought a very large train of heavy artillery down the Maese, together with a number of mortars, and a great quantity of powder, so that the famous Coehorn, who was at that time their chief engineer, soon beat down the walls, and filled up the ditches in such a manner, that a whole battalion in front might march in at the breaches, in order of battle, without being obliged to climb.

Marshal Boufflers, after retarding the besiegers for some time, by the numerous sallies he made, in which he killed them near twenty thousand men, with the loss of seven or eight thousand on his side, was at length obliged to capitulate. But the terms were badly observed. The marshal was arrested by order of king William, by way of reprisal on the French for not having observed the articles of capitulation with respect to two or three little towns, which they had taken; and thus Lewis was put to the blush, in finding himself punished in kind for his disregard to treaties made with his enemies. It is true, that he might have a plausible pretext for not observing some of those articles, but the just man will always reject such pretexts, and make reason and equity the sole guides of his actions; by asking himself, should not I think such a pretext frivolous, and a breach of faith, if made use of against me by an enemy stronger than myself?

The

The English and Dutch, finding the seas clear of French ships, bombarded the towns of St. Malo, Dunkirk and Calais, and the French in return bombarded the city of Bruffels, where they did infinite mischief.

There are cartels or treaties made between powers at war for the exchange of prisoners, the levying of contributions, settling the terms of capitulation, and many other things, by which each party gains more than it loses. None but Barbarians now-a-days make war without quarter or cartel, and a war carried on in that manner is infinitely the most cruel of all others to both parties; for the spirit of revenge being kept continually alive, the war seldom ends but by the utter destruction of one or other of the powers at difference.

Now, in my opinion, the bombardment and burning of places on both sides ought to be managed by cartel; for the destroyer gains nothing by what he destroys, and only invites others to retaliate the injury upon himself by the first favourable opportunity.

Nothing material passed between the armies in Germany or Spain, but the duke of Savoy, afterwards king of Sardinia, being the most powerful by his junction with the Germans, took Casal; while

while the Turks made a considerable advantage of their superiority in Hungary, where the Imperial army was obliged to be upon the defensive.

Marshal Luxembourg died at the beginning of the year: he was not so good a general as marshal Turenne, but the soldiers loudly declared, that king William would never have dared to attack Namure had he commanded the French army. He was very sensible of the difference between himself and marshal Villeroi, who was very proper to shine away at a feast, or an assembly, but had very little reputation for military skill.

The court was too much embarrassed with a war, that now seemed to threaten no less than the loss of the kingdom, to think of any methods of perfecting its interior government. Their whole attention was devoted to the means of raising money, and amongst all the different schemes proposed, that of a capitation was agreed upon, which is a yearly tax paid by every one towards the support of the war. The ferment, in which the nation was thrown by the taking of Namure, and at the prospect of a series of the most unfortunate events, to my no small surprise, made this tax, instead of meeting with any obstacle or dislike on the part of the people, he received with a general joy, as the only means left, in the opinion of every one, to remedy our evils; and it is a fact, that this edict, which in a time of success would have
given

given universal subject of complaint, revived our drooping spirits, and relieved us from our apprehensions; as soon as we found that it would be sufficient to secure us against the general invasion with which we were threatened.

This makes me think, that if the king had put on a shew of great surprise and fear amongst his courtiers, on the news of the formidable league that was framing against him at Augsbourg in 1689, and which grew still more serious the following year, when all the powers of Europe entered into a combination to strip us of our frontier provinces; these fears would have been soon propagated from the court to the city, and from the city through all the provinces of the kingdom; and then he might have fixed the capitation with the general approbation of the whole nation, which would have brought him in about two and twenty millions a-year more for six or seven years.

But our ministry had not art enough to feign in time a little more fear than was really necessary, but acted quite the reverse, by shewing more confidence and hopes in our national strength than it deserved. They did not consider, that it is very easy to amuse the people with the hopes of a good peace, when they see a foundation for carrying on the war, which would

have been the case had this subsidy been raised in time.

Besides, it was very badly managed at its first institution, and though it has been somewhat amended by the intendants in their levying it, yet it is still attended with a number of inconveniencies and oppressions throughout the several towns and districts where it is raised,

The reason of this is, that every yearly tax should be levied in proportion to the actual yearly income of every taxable person, and not to his quality, dignity, office or employ, as is ordered by the edict. For can any one doubt, but that in all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, one man may have ten, nay twenty times the actual yearly income of another in the same rank or station?

But if all are equally taxed, it must frequently happen, that the rich will pay twenty times too little, and the poor twenty times too much. I have elsewhere shewn, how this tax might be amended, by proportioning it to the income of each taxable person.

And indeed, provided such amendment could take place, and the method of raising it was sufficiently perfected, I am of opinion, that the tax itself might always subsist in war as well as peace,

peace, observing to raise or diminish it according to the exigencies of the state; and that the assessments were made by corporations or parishes in the country towns, or by companies, trades and professions in the cities; for by this means the ministry would soon come to such a degree of certainty, as not to tax one individual a penny above his real income; because it would be the interest of every member of a community, to give an account of the incomes of the other members of his class, and it would be a matter of reproach to any one member of a community to go about to defraud the community, by a false account of his income; and it is upon this principle, that I approved of the scheme of the capitation to be raised on the fiftieth part of the income of the subject even in time of peace, supposing the people to be divided into communities of neighbouring families, acquainted with the real income of one another.

The court, who stood in need of a large subsidy from the clergy, granted an edict in favour of the jurisdiction of the bishops against the parliament who contested it.

Upon which I shall make two observations. The first is, That there never should be more than one jurisdiction in a state for ecclesiastics as well as seculars; but there might be an office established for the clergy in each jurisdiction, in

which ecclesiastical judges might take cognizance of the affairs immediately appertaining to their class. The second is, That as the clergy are equally subject to the state, and enjoy the benefits arising from its revenues in common with other citizens, there is no just reason to dispense with their assisting the state with their incomes on the same footing as its other subjects. The reasons of former princes might have had their weight, but they are of no force at present.

1696.

France fatigued by a long resistance, and exhausted by her victories, was in the greatest danger of sinking into ruin at once. The king, sufficiently apprized of his weakness, had for a long time sought an opportunity of taking off one of the confederate powers; the one that appeared to him the most easy to be worked upon was the duke of Savoy. This prince, who desired no more than to make advantageous terms for himself, was glad to embrace the favourable opportunity. Accordingly, having secretly made his own conditions*, he gave the Emperor and Spain to know, that he had obtained a neutrality for Italy, which, if they were not willing

* The duke and marshal Catinau concluded this treaty at Notre Dame de Loretto, whither they went under pretence of a religious pilgrimage. See Volt. Age of Lewis XIV. vol. i. p. 226.

to accept he should be obliged to join the king of France, who desired nothing farther than that neutrality.

These proposals were at first rejected by the emperor and the king of Spain, upon which the duke joined his forces to those of France, and marched to Valence, a town in the Milanese, belonging to the king of Spain, to which he laid siege. But the courts of Vienna and Madrid, seeing that nothing better was to be done than to accept of the neutrality of Italy, they came into it: the siege was raised, and the Imperial troops evacuated Italy, but on condition, that those dominions in Italy, where they used to fix their winter quarters, should pay a million of ounces of silver, by way of composition; which was agreed to, and raised by the usual methods*.

Lewis was all this while in private treaty with the Dutch and the king of England. This when known was not a little displeasing to the courts of Vienna and Madrid, who now began to abate considerably in their views of conquests. They appointed plenipotentiaries to meet on the frontiers, where the enemies on neither side attempted any

* These were Tuscany, Genoa, Parma, Modena, Mantua, and some few others.

any thing considerable, as the views of their sovereigns seemed wholly turned towards a pacification; but the true reason of this change in the dispositions of the belligerent powers, was their being alike weary of the fatigues and expences of the war; for though their negotiations went under the name of a perpetual treaty of peace, yet they were in fact only making an uncertain truce for a small number of years, as they did not call in any arbitrator of sufficient power and interest to put an end to their differences without war.

The princess of Savoy, though but eleven years, was brought over to France to be married the ensuing year to the duke of Burgundy, afterwards dauphin, who was but two years older. She was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the whole kingdom, as the pledge of an approaching peace.

No step was taken for bettering the interior government, there appeared only burfal edicts; but these were indeed in less number than in the foregoing years, because the sources for supplies were considerably diminished, and the capitation, that had produced two millions, had made other extraordinary taxes less necessary.

1697.

The English and Dutch seeing that the duke of Savoy had gone off from the league, and made a separate peace for himself, and that they had no longer any thing to expect from the war, but on the contrary might be losers by it, on account of the sure expence that would attend the supporting it, declared to the emperor, and the king of Spain, their allies, that if they would not content themselves with the restitution of those places, which the crown of France offered to give up to them, they were determined to make a separate peace for themselves; and such will always be the end of these partial and temporary leagues, till the establishment of the general diet of Europe.

During the course of these negotiations, Lewis, in order to quicken the Spaniards, who seemed the most backward of any of the powers to come to a conclusion, attacked the town of Ath in Flanders, a place extremely well fortified. The siege was conducted by Catinat, who after some resistance made himself master of the place. The duke of Vendôme gained a victory in Catalonia, and took Barcelona. And by sea, Pointis, the commander of a squadron, surprised the town of Carthagen in America, and having demolished the fortifications, brought away near three

three millions of ounces of silver. However, these new and powerful efforts did not at all hasten matters with the Spaniards, who knew perfectly well that they should have all these places restored to them again by the treaty of peace.

But at length they were prevailed on, by the pressing remonstrances of the Dutch, to sign the peace in September, the emperor following their example in about a month afterwards; but not till he found all the princes of the Empire determined to make a separate peace for themselves.

Thus finished the war of the famous league of Augsbourg, after having cost the French upwards of a hundred thousand men, and above sixty millions of ounces of silver extraordinary, in the space of eight years. All which losses might have been prevented, had not the king, after the death of Colbert in 1683, hearkened to the advice of Louvois, who pushed him on to seize upon Luxembourg and Strasbourg, as places that he thought would form a strong barrier against the Empire; but a pacific king of France had nothing to fear from the princes of the Empire, who were so much weaker than himself, he had only to leave them unmolested, and they would have been so far from endeavouring to make conquests upon such a prince, whom they

they would be glad to look upon as their guardian and protector, against the despotic attempts that the emperor was from time to time making on them; that they would not have suffered any diminution in a power, which was exerted wholly to support them in the peaceable enjoyment of their rights and possessions.

Had it not been for those two fresh attempts on the side of the king of France, the powers of Europe would never have run themselves to an expence of an hundred millions of ounces of silver, to fight against us by the league of Augsbourg; for by our moderation, and the disbanding of our troops, we might have given them proofs of our intention to live in peace with them for the future, to pay off our debts, make amendments in the interior parts of the state, and revive and improve our trade; but it was the interest of Louvois to revive the war.

But it is certain, that when, by seizing upon these two places against the faith of all treaties, the king had made himself appear in the eyes of all Europe as a prince whose ambition had no bounds, his neighbours could not form too strong or too close an union to deprive him of the power of doing them any future injuries. It was the taking of Luxembourg and Strasbourg, that, properly speaking, put the finishing stroke to the ruin of the king's reputation

with his neighbours ; and these fatal councils of Louvois, that cost France so much treasure, blood and tears, and armed so many foreign powers with just complaints against the conduct of our king and the whole nation.

And such evils will always await the nation, whose king has been badly educated ; and till the three principal branches of public affairs, negociation, maritime commerce, and both departments of war, are under the direction of one minister, agreeable to the system of government planned by the dauphin of Burgundy.

This year the prince of Conti embarked at Dunkirk to go and take possession of the crown of Poland ; he arrived safe at Dantzic, but did not find matters so well disposed for chusing him as the abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal, had informed him they were ; so that he did not so much as set a foot in the kingdom, the elector of Saxony's party having greatly the majority*. The chevalier de St. Pierre, my brother,

* The abbé de Polignac, afterwards cardinal, had, at first, address enough to carry the votes in favour of the prince de Conti, so well known for his gallant behaviour at Steenkirk and Nerwind : he had never, however, commanded in chief, nor been admitted into the king's privy-council : the duke of Bourbon, his relation, was reputed equal to him in warlike

ther, who was then captain of a man of war, and afterwards captain of foot, was in the squadron commanded by Jean Bart on this expedition: I have

warlike affairs: and the duke of Vendome was a man of greater renown for martial abilities. Nevertheless, his fame eclipsed that of the other two. This was owing to his art of pleasing, and displaying his talents to the best advantage; an art which nobody ever possessed to an higher degree than Conti. Polignac, who had that of persuading, first determined the electors in that prince's favour. By his eloquence and promises he counterbalanced the treasure which Augustus, elector of Saxony, had lavished with such profusion. Conti was elected by a considerable majority; and accordingly proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom. Two hours after, Augustus was likewise chosen, by another party, much less in number; but he was a powerful prince, and had troops in readiness on the frontiers of Poland. The prince de Conti was absent, without money, without troops, and without power: he had nothing but his name, and the cardinal de Polignac. Lewis ought certainly either to have prevented his accepting of the offer of the crown, or to have supplied him with a sufficient force to carry it against his rival. The French ministry was thought to have done too much, in sending the prince of Conti; and too little, in giving him only a small convoy, and a few bills of exchange, with which he came into the road of Dantzick. This method of beginning of affairs, and dropping them, is a kind of policy frequently practised by the French ministry. The prince de Conti was not even admitted into Dantzick; and his bills were protested. The intrigues of the pope, those of the emperor, and the money and troops in Saxony, had already secured the crown to his rival. He returned with the glory only of having been elected; and France had the mortification to find, that she was unable to make a king of Poland. See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. vol. i. chap. 16.

heard him say, that the prince did not seem greatly to regret his disappointment.

I have heard the prince himself say, that the kingdom was very ill provided both with soldiers and artillery, that they had very little trade, and less money; that subsidies were very difficult to be raised; that there were scarce any fortified places; and, moreover, that they had a law amongst them directly opposite to all good government, and the wholesome regulations proper to render a kingdom great and flourishing; this law is, that no new laws can be enacted, but by the general assemblies or diets, and that a nuncio or deputy by standing up, and pronouncing aloud the word *Veto*, has a power of breaking up the diet whenever he pleases.

No establishment was made this year for the improvement of the state; for the only edicts that appeared, notwithstanding the peace had been so lately concluded, were for raising money to pay the debts incurred by the war.

END of VOL. I.



